DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 030 061 AC 004 732

Conference Proceedings: Annual Conference on Women in the War on Poverty. (Second, Washington, D. C., May 15-17, 1968)

Spons Agency-Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.; Women's Advisory Council on Poverty.

Pub Date [68]

Note-63p.

Available from-Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (0-326-278)

EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC Not Available from EDRS.

Descriptors-*Community Organizations, Education, Employment Practices, Federal Programs, *Females, Housing, Human Relations, Indigenous Personnel, *Poverty Programs, Public Health, *Racism, Welfare

The 300 delegates from women's organizations and State Commissions on the Status of Women met to discuss problems defined in the Report by the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Federal Government poverty programs were discussed and speeches were given on the need for effective programs, the profile of the disadvantaged American, and plans and successes in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Ways of approaching problems of poverty and racism in home communities were outlined in workshops on education, employment, welfare, health, housing, and human relations. Workshops were aided by resource teams of program specialists from the Offices of Educational Opportunity and Education, Departments of Health and Welfare, Justice, Housing and Urban Development, and Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The point of view of the poor was provided in all sessions by program recipeints in Head Start, Job Corps, Vista, and Upward Bound. It was not the purpose of the conference to adopt action programs, but to recommend action for member organizations. Member organizations, commissions, committees and councils on the status of women, the conference program, and participants are listed in the report. (pt)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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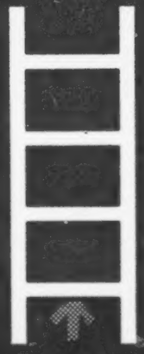
Second Annual Conference on

Women in the War on poverty



Washington-Hilton Hotel
Washington, D. C.
May 15, 16 and 17, 1968

AC004732

A MANDATE FROM THE PRESIDENT

(Excerpts from remarks of the President of the United States to participants in the first annual Conference on Women in the War on Poverty, the White House, May 8, 1967.)

"Long before there was an official, Federal 'war on poverty'—long before the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier, the women's groups were fighting poverty in the neighborhoods and legislative halls. Many of the early victories in the struggle against poverty were won because the women cared enough to work, to plan, and to make their influence felt. The battles for compulsory education, the battles against child labor, are two that come most readily to my mind that the women carried on and the women won.

Now you have organized a new program, using new methods and new resources. But this program—like all of those that have gone before—will succeed only if you make the same commitment that women have made over the generations past, and that commitment is—to teach,—to heal,—to awaken the conscience of this great Nation."

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Sargent Shriver and the Women's Advisory Council on Poverty meet in preparation for the Conference

Report on the Second Annual Conference on Women in The War on Poverty

Sponsored by the Women's Advisory Council on Poverty and the Office of Economic Opportunity

PREFACE

The Women's Advisory Council on Poverty is proud and privileged to address a message to all who will read this report on the Second Annual Conference on Women in the War on Poverty; proud to be a part of the great surge of conscience and action on the part of the women of America to eradicate poverty, social injustice and social unrest; and privileged to have been given the role of hosting this year's conference together with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We were all struck by the differences between this year's conference and last year's—differences in mood, in tempo, in purpose. The theme of this Conference, the issues contained in the Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, told us that an awakened conscience is not all that is required of us: we must awaken to action.

The Conference educated us, shocked us, dispelled our illusions, and set the stage for a new campaign to hit at the basic causes that are behind poverty in our communities. If the road ahead looks more difficult, it is because we are seeing things more clearly. Women's organizations must learn to work closely together, to rely on each other, to use each other's knowledge and skills and experience in waging this war. We earnestly hope you will use the Women's Advisory Council in every way that will help your efforts, because that is its purpose—to mobilize and coordinate action among women's organizations, to furnish information and assistance, and as an advisory body, to interpret and convey to the Office of Economic Opportunity your views and recommendations as members of the Women in the War on Poverty.

The Conference taught us that we cannot escape from our individual responsibility for action. Let each one ask herself, "What will I do to win the war against poverty?"

June, 1968

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Charlie Killian Swift, Executive Secretary

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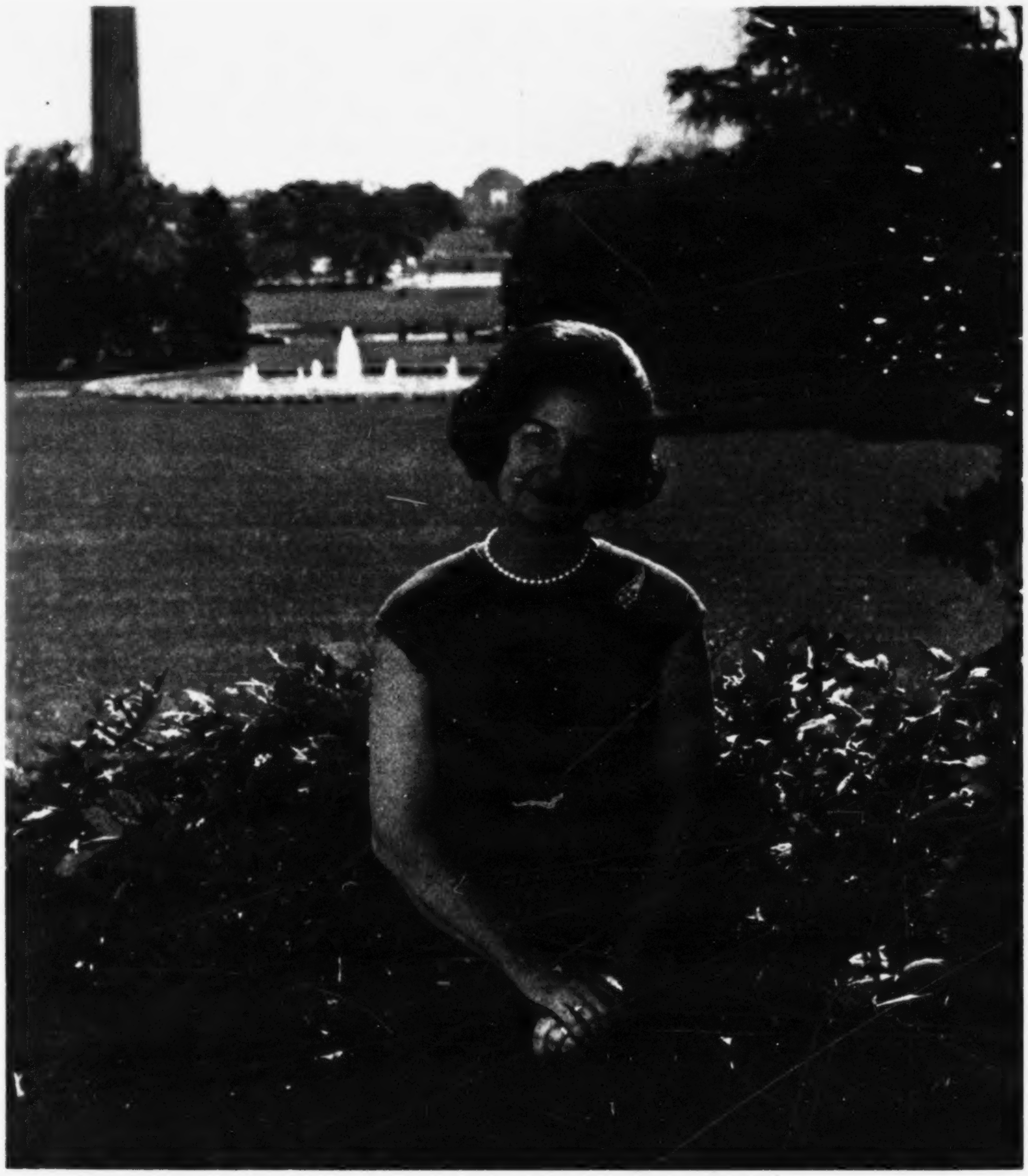
Mrs. William Cooper (Arrangements)



"Start with one person. What a difference it would make toward the total problem if every single one of you would just start with one person."
(Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson)

INTRODUCTION

In Summary

When the dates for the Second Annual Conference on Women in the War on Poverty were selected last winter, the schedule for the Poor People's March on Washington was not known. That the two events coincided was the most fortunate chance.

The eyes of the country were on Washington and on the spectre of poverty demonstrated by the marchers. The Women in the War on Poverty chose to stage their own campaign in behalf of the poor by coming to Washington to meet and to look within themselves for both the causes of problems and the answers. Some stayed away out of fear of violence. But those who came and heard Senator Fred Harris' stunning speech are grateful for having had the chance, and through his words forgot their fear of violence by viewing the poor through new and compassionate eyes. In the words Senator Harris quoted from Shakespeare's King Henry V, on the eve of the St. Crispin's Day Battle, ". . . and gentlemen in England now abed shall think themselves acursed they weren't here".

This was surely the time, and Washington was the place. The Conference headquarters were the Washington-Hilton Hotel which stands on the edge of one of Washington's slum ghettos. And the women who made a pilgrimage to Resurrection City, the symbolic city of the poor on the Southwest Mall, found the reality of poverty just a block and a half from the hotel.

More than three hundred delegates from women's organizations and State Commissions on the Status of Women spent two and a half days in "dialogue" sessions discussing the immediacy of problems defined in the Report by the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. These delegates— representing memberships which total millions of women—looked at the Riot Report, and in so doing, looked at themselves, their communities and their society. They did not like what they saw.

An emotion-charged and deeply introspective session on Friday afternoon ended the Conference on a note of excitement and high hope. This two-hour, open discussion, which at times resembled an old-time revival meeting, as its Moderator, Dorothy Height, pointed out, gives us the key to the character of the Conference and its probable outcome in terms of what women intend to do to implement with immediate measures the Riot Report's recommendations. The discussion revealed:

(1) An intensity of feeling about poverty conditions.

(2) A determination to take immediate corrective action in home communities and a realization of one's personal responsibility as an individual to take action. We must stop passing the buck to "Congress" or to "Washington", and assume responsibility for effecting necessary legislation for social progress, and for electing to office those people who will support such legislative action.

(3) An awareness of the need for change first of all within ourselves, and then within our organizations if racism is to be uprooted from our society.

Mrs. Lyndon Johnson greeted the delegates at a White House reception the first morning with warm and personal words of encouragement; Vice President Humphrey spoke movingly at Senator and Mrs. Harris' evening Senate reception of the grievances of the poor and of the paradox of a 350 billion dollar economy operating poverty programs at the "bare bones" level. He told the women they must insist that Congress supply sufficient funds to carry out poverty programs.

The young and intrepid Mayor of New Brunswick, New Jersey, Mrs. Patricia Sheehan, stood before the delegates, in her own words, as the living proof that you can fight City Hall, and Dr. Zelma George, Director of the Women's Job Corps Center in Cleveland, Ohio, spoke of the first requisite in helping the poor—communicating with them and understanding them. The Conference sought to close the communications gap between the poor and the non-poor by including in all sessions and discussions program recipients themselves: welfare mothers, Head Start parents, Job Corps trainees, Neighborhood Youth Corps boys and girls, Upward Bound students—these, plus Vista Volunteers, provided insight into how the poor feel, what they think, and what they hope for.

Some have asked us why the Conference did not pass a resolution. While the Conference on Women in the War on Poverty can be considered a national organization of women's organizations, its members, as presidents or officers of such organizations, must work **through** their organizations. In this concept rests the strength of this program. The Conference in itself does not adopt action positions; it proposes or recommends action or programs which are taken back to member organizations for adoption.

"We will go home", the women said, "and clean up the problems of poverty and racism in our own communities." For each community in poverty, however small, is a microcosm of our national problem.

How to do this was outlined in Workshops held on Education, Employment, Welfare, Health, Housing and Human Relations, through which propasals were elicited for stimulating and implementing action by women's groups on these crucial issues. These Workshops were aided by resource teams of program specialists from OEO, from the Office of Education, Departments of Health and Welfare, the Department of Justice, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor and from the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In all workshops, the views of the poor were expressed through their representatives — the program recipients themselves.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

MAY 15

5:00- 9:00 p.m.	Registration
7:30-10:00 p.m.	Welcome to Delegates Introduction of Council Members Mrs. Fred Harris Chairman—Women's Advisory Council On Poverty Briefing by Government Consultants The Honorable Esther Peterson Assistant Secretary Department of Labor Mrs. Mary Keyserling, Director Women's Bureau Department of Labor Dr. Regina Goff Assistant Commissioner Office of Education Department of Health Education & Welfare
7:30-10:00 p.m.	Miss Evelyn Harrison Assistant to the Chairman Federal Women's Programs Civil Service Commission Mr. James A. Madison Associate Director Community Relations Service Department of Justice Mrs. Ruth Prokof Special Assistant to the Under Secretary Housing and Urban Development
8:30- 9:00 p.m.	"The March of the Poor" Dr. Maurice Dawkins Assistant Director Civil Rights Division Office of Economic Opportunity
9:00- 9:20 p.m.	Film Showing— "While I Run This Race"
9:20-10:30 p.m.	Reception for Delegates

MAY 16

8:45 a.m.	Marine Band and Color Guard
9:00 a.m.	Plenary Session Convocation Mrs. Fred R. Harris Introductions
9:15 a.m.	Welcome by Bertrand Harding Acting Director Office of Economic Opportunity Introduction of OEO Regional Directors
9:30 a.m.	Greetings from Mayor Walter Washington (presented by Mrs. Walter Washington)

10:30-11:30 A.M.	White House Reception
11:50 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon
	Invocation Rev. Fredrick Brown Harris Chaplain—U.S. Senate
	Introduction of Distinguished Guests Mrs. Fred R. Harris
	Address by The Honorable Fred R. Harris Senator from Oklahoma
	Send-off to Workshops Mrs. Louis Robbins Chairman—Conference Planning Task Force
2:15- 4:15 p.m.	Workshops Human Relations I and II Housing III and IV Welfare V and VI Employment VII and VIII Health IX and X Education XI and XII
5:00- 7:00 p.m.	Reception—Senate Caucus Room By Senator and Mrs. Fred R. Harris
	Address by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
7:30- 8:30 p.m.	Meetings between Workshop Leaders and Reporters in preparation of Reports for presentation to Conference
9:00-11:00 p.m.	Off-the-Record Dialogues on "Racism"

MAY 17

8:30 a.m.	Plenary Session Mrs. Fred R. Harris
8:30- 9:00 a.m.	"Where to Go to Get What" Mr. Herbert Kramer Assistant Director Office of Public Affairs
9:00- 9:30 a.m.	"Invitation to Action"— Reports on Workshops Dr. Ann Pettigrew, Moderator
9:30-11:30 a.m.	Panel Discussion by OEO Program Directors and Program Participants Mrs. Louis Robbins, Moderator
11:30-12:00 noon	"A Walk Through OEO" (Exhibits in the Concourse)
12:00-12:30 p.m.	Informal meeting of Delegates and OEO Regional Directors
12:30- 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Mrs. Amalia Betanzos, Presiding Introduction of Distinguished Guests
	Address by Dr. Zelma George Director, Women's Job Corps Training Center Cleveland, Ohio Address by The Honorable Patricia Sheehan New Brunswick, N. J.
2:15- 5:00 p.m.	Plenary Session
2:15- 4:30 p.m.	"Proposals for Action"— Open Discussion Miss Dorothy Height, Moderator
4:30- 5:00 p.m.	Summation Mrs. Ruth Atkins Mrs. Fred R. Harris
5:00 p.m.	Adjournment

The "Proposals for Action" session

BRIEFINGS ON FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

The War on Poverty—What is the Federal Government Doing?

The Honorable Esther Peterson (Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Labor): Moderator

The vast majority of us have been too blinded by the glitter to understand the other America . . . the people that we are concerned with.

In our country, we have great contrasts that we are not aware of, when you think that we are a land where a wealthy Sutton Place in New York can exist right next to the East Side tenements, and not far from Harlem, where Negroes and Puerto Ricans make a daily attempt at survival.

We are a land where the poor must bring their poverty to the Nation's Capital and literally try to simulate their degradation in an attempt to demonstrate to us in our great fortunate affluence what poverty really is.

What does it take and what will it take to eliminate poverty?

The fact is that we are becoming aware and that is the hopeful thing. One outgrowth of this awareness is the Report on Civil Disorders issued by the Kerner Committee and the Report, I feel, should be like a branding iron on the conscience of every one of us.

The question before us is not whether we will be able to eliminate poverty, but how we are going to do it and how soon.

We must find leaders every place and everywhere who understand the problems that we face and who can exert leadership and communicate. We must all participate in personal individual relationships and involvement. It's a personal confrontation and I think that was the lesson of the Kerner Report too. It causes a good deal of looking inside so we really can reach and reflect the brotherhood and good will that we all feel.

Mr. James A. Madison, Associate Director, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice

The United States Department of Justice which now has more than 33,000 employees has been called the largest law office in the world. It began in 1789 with a staff of two—the Attorney General and a clerk.

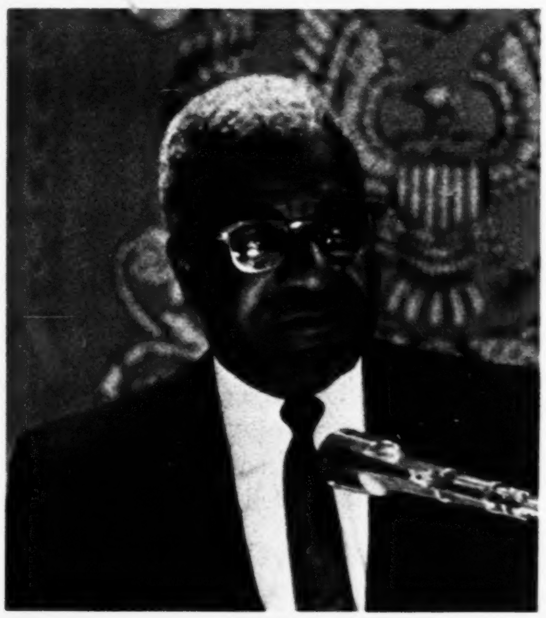
Today the Department of Justice has Offices of the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, Solicitor General and eight Assistant Attorneys General (covering eight divisions); special sections, including the Community Relations Service, Office of Criminal Justice, and the Office of Law Enforcement; the F.B.I., Bureau of Prisons, Board of Parole, Pardon Attorney, Immigration & Naturalization Service, and the Board of Immigration Appeals.

The Community Relations Service and the Civil Rights Division have responsibilities which bear heavily on the "War on Poverty" and other efforts to relieve the plight of the impoverished, deprived minorities.

The Civil Rights Division has grown steadily with the Nation's determination to guarantee the rights of freedom to all citizens. Established in 1957, the Division is now responsible for the enforcement of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Civil Rights Division is also charged with the criminal statutes against terrorist conspiracies and against police brutality. In addition to specific responsibilities under the civil rights laws, the Attorney General and the Civil Rights Division have advised all government agencies on their enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Act, which required that all programs receiving federal financial assistance must be operated on a non-discriminatory basis.

A large part of the Division's efforts have been concentrated on voting, the central right of democratic citizenship. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has won far more effective results by suspending literacy tests in counties and states where they had probably been used to discriminate and by empowering the Attorney General to send federal voting examiners to list eligible voters where local officials do not fulfill their responsibilities.

As a result of the Voting Rights Act and its enforcement, Negro voter registration by the end of 1967 reached 1.5 million in the five States of the Act's greatest impact. This was an increase of 118 percent, from 705,000 in the 28 months since passage of the Act and a rise in the rate of adult Negroes registered from 28 to 64 percent.



Mr. James Madison, briefing the delegates on the Department of Justice

The Division's primary task in the area of education, prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, had been to see that when federal courts issued school desegregation orders as a result of private litigation, the court orders were carried out. The 1964 Act broke important new ground by authorizing the Attorney General to institute school desegregation suits on the complaints of parents unable to sustain litigation themselves; and it also authorized the Attorney General to intervene in new cases of public importance that involved the denial of equal protection of laws because of race or color.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 took another important new step in guaranteeing to all persons freedom from segregation or discrimination on account of race or color in places of public accommodation.

Under a recent reorganization, the Civil Rights Division has four regional sections—Eastern, Western, Southwestern, and Southeastern. Each section handles the broad spectrum of civil rights enforcement in its assigned geographic area.

Civil rights activities have been greatly expanded; previously concentrated on the South, they were broadened to include urban ghettos throughout the Nation. A reflection of the broadened scope in civil rights was the filing of eight significant employment discrimination cases in 1967. Currently there are more than 150 investigations of alleged discrimination under way and they cover every major population center.

Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 established the Community Relations Service "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin . . ." It "may offer its services . . . whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened . . ."

The goal of the Community Relations Service is to help communities resolve racial difficulties by helping them eliminate disadvantages suffered by members of minority groups. In spite of the generally healthy and even affluent condition of the national economy, the significant gaps between the majority and the minority in income, housing, school dropouts, infant mortality, and the like have not thus far been reduced. In some instances, the disparities have increased. Ghettos have become larger. High minority group expectations and very slow economic and social progress are producing severe racial problems in many cities and quietly simmering tensions in many more. The existence of these disparities not only affects minority group members, but also slows progress for the rest of the community.

The Community Relations Service assists communities resolve racial difficulties by two general forms of service. First, CRS helps build and maintain channels of communication within and among the major resources affecting intergroup life in the community. These resources include local governments, voluntary organizations, business leaders, religious, educational, and law enforcement institutions, media, and the agencies and programs of the state and federal governments. Second, CRS serves as federal community-relations consultants to many of these elements—local, state and national.

These two forms of service are the basis of all the work of CRS and may be categorized into six types of activity:

1) helping communities identify their problems,
2) helping them employ and develop their own resources for rapid, orderly change,
3) helping to expedite federal programs and services designed to narrow the gap between majority and minority groups,
4) encouraging involvement of minorities in the decision-making process of their community,
5) assisting communities in dealing constructively with racial tension,
6) promoting impartial law enforcement in local community systems.

The Poor People's Campaign is the most important current activity of Community Relations Service. The Attorney General has assigned this agency the major responsibility for the human relations aspects of this campaign. Technical assistance is being provided the organizers to assure adequate welfare services to the march participants, keep channels of communication open between the various caravans and public officials in the cities along the route, and provide information to appropriate public and private agencies responsible for human welfare and public safety.

Excerpts From Remarks Of

Mrs. Regina Saxton (Special Assistant to the Administrator Congressional Liaison Bureau of Work Training Programs, Department of Labor);

We have evidences all about us of our great affluence, at the same time, of the extreme and prevalent poverty. The fact is that our overall unemployment rate is the lowest that it's ever been in our country, at the same time, thousands of people throughout our land are unskilled and cannot find work.

In the short period of three and one half years we have moved from a bureau that handles one program to a bureau that handles seven programs.

There's a new position that people in your communities will have and the position is called the Regional Manpower Administrator, and his function is going to be to coordinate all of these programs that cross agency and bureau lines.

Excerpts From Remarks Of

Dr. Regina Goff (Assistant Commissioner of Office of Education, Department of HEW):

There are 120 programs throughout HEW directed toward the poor . . . even rather specifically related to them are programs from which they might profit.

Conditions, no matter how bad they might appear to be today, are not considered fixed or static. There is change either for the better or for the worse, and we definitely believe that change can occur in a positive fashion. Another assumption is that we must attack all of the problems of all of the people and we have to get away from some of our prior notions of piecemeal attack on the problems of individuals.

We are looking at the unwed mother . . . her problems. We are looking at children who are neglected . . . who are abused.

Increased attention is given to pre-school education.

In order to compensate just nominally for cultural deficits, legislation in 1965 was passed known as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The indigent college student may receive an outright grant . . . encouragement for going on in the college level.

Not only do we train individuals, but we must be sure there is opportunity for absorption of that individual in the culture and in terms of his own economic betterment.

We have to make a comprehensive attack on all of the problems of all of the people.

I think in HEW we will continue to proceed on the assumption that continued and sincere effort, sincere application, and rational strategy will lead to the needed reforms.

Excerpts From Remarks Of

Miss Evelyn Harrison (Assistant to the Chairman of Federal Women's Programs in the Civil Service Commission):

What is the Federal Government as the nation's largest employer doing in the employment of minority groups and the disadvantaged?

The Civil Service Commission is heavily involved in two programs bearing on the war on poverty. One is the operation of the Equal Employment Opportunity program as far as government employment itself is concerned. Also, we have special programs working for the employment of the disadvantaged.

We have entered into a contract with the Educational Testing Service under a joint Ford Foundation grant to make a long range study of all of our written tests to see if, by inadvertence, there are cultural biases built into some of our questions and some of our testing.

We try to reach out in target areas to give information about federal employment through community action agencies, through school counselors, through churches, through employment services, through other organizations not typical of the past.

As near as we can estimate we have employed and presently employ 125,000 disadvantaged.

Maurice A. Dawkins, Assistant Director for Civil Rights Office of Economic Opportunity

"THE MARCH VS POVERTY"

The marching feet of thousands upon thousands of freedom-loving blacks and whites left indelible footprints on the sands of time in the years of 1956-66. A decade of freedom marches began with the citizens of Montgomery, Alabama, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, in the cradle of the Confederacy. This was only the beginning. Marching feet went to Washington in 1957 in a prayer pilgrimage called by Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, James Farmer, A. Philip Randolph, and Reverend King.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957, under President Eisenhower, soon followed as an echo of the sound of those marching feet. The Youth March on Washington in 1958, the marching feet in Albany, Georgia, and in cities across the Southland were soon joined by marchers in Northern cities to demonstrate their sympathy in the struggle for freedom. The great March on Washington in 1963 preceded the explosion in Birmingham where the marchers were knocked off their feet by high-pressure fire hoses and attacked by vicious police dogs, under the leadership of the infamous Bull Connor.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 soon followed as an echo of the marching feet from the streets of Birmingham—then came the marching feet in the funeral procession of the four Birmingham Sunday school girls, Medger Evers of Jackson, Mississippi, and the late President John F. Kennedy who gave his life in Dallas, Texas. The marching feet that started on the highway from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery only to be stopped with violent police practices by Sheriff Jim Clark of the State Troopers in a manner that turned the Nation's stomach and stirred the Nation's conscience. Those marching feet that would not be stopped or turned around continued on to Montgomery, leaving bloody footprints on the pages of history, and once again marching in funeral procession for the Reverend James Reeb and the housewife, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. Soon followed the echo of the sound of those marching feet with the passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 after the historic Joint Session of Congress, which found President Johnson voicing righteous indignation against bigotry, violence and the Ku Klux Klan and ending his speech with a ringing: "We Shall Overcome."

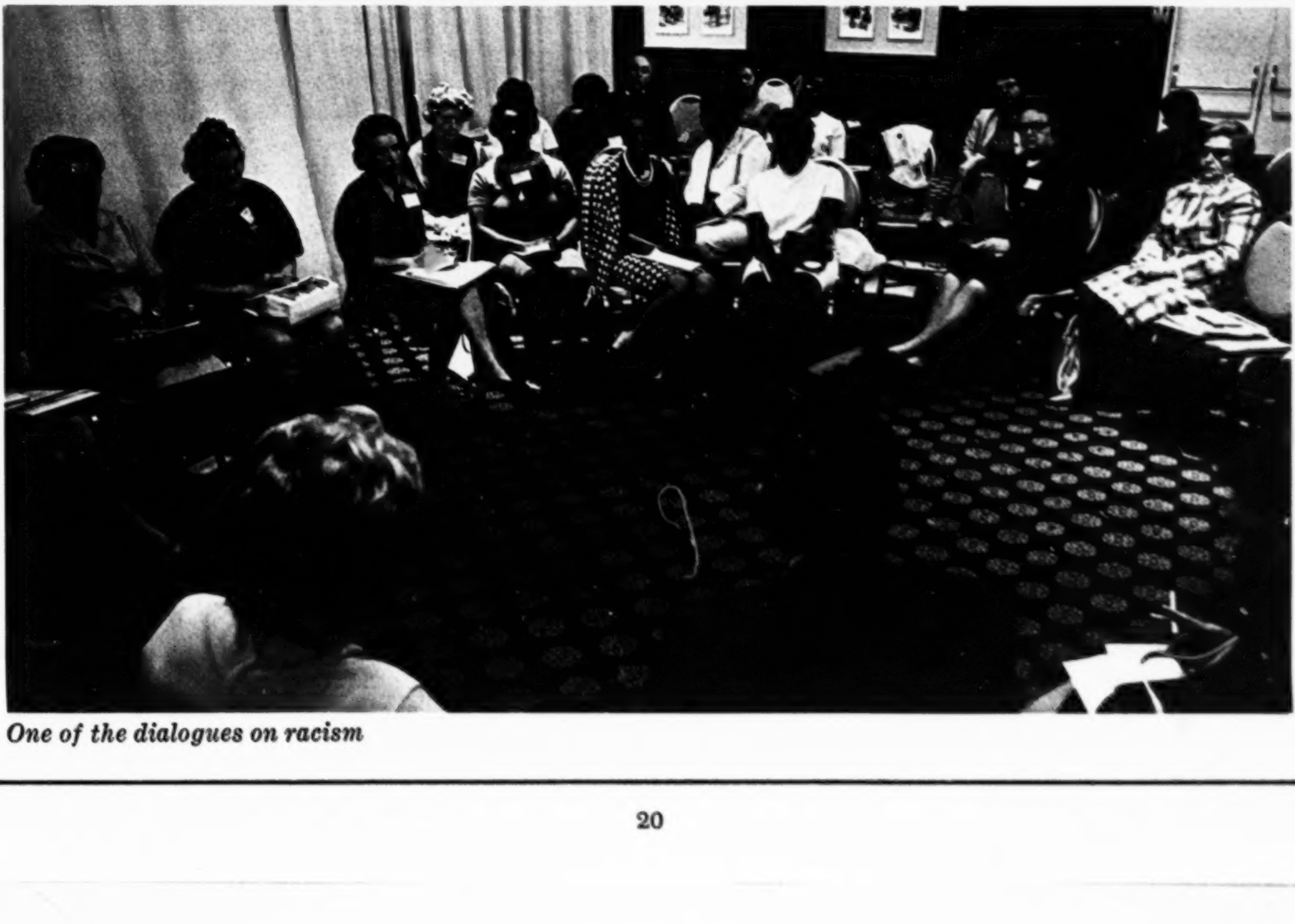
That was a magnificent decade, a time that will forever illuminate the pages of American history, a time when a nation searched its conscience and decided that it had grievously wronged a people and the scales of justice must be brought more into balance. This was a time of brave men and women, many of whom gave the last full measure of their devotion to a cause. Some were noticed and some went unnoticed, but the goal of freedom was everything. Black and white, the children of the legions walked together, sang together, and overcame together.

The visible walls of segregation, like the walls of Jericho, came tumbling down, and then we discovered something that all of us should have known. Instead of crossing over into the promised land, we found that we were still in the wilderness. Poverty was revealed as the enemy we had *not* overcome, and so began a new march. A new search for answers.

There remained ahead of us many problems, the depth of which we only faintly realized. The golden fleece that had been promised, turned out for the poor, black and white together, to be made only of cotton that could not keep out the cold, that chills the bones of those who exist in poverty.

Tonight as we gather here in the Nation's Capital, I come to you to describe the nature of this new kind of freedom march. It is not as easy to understand, or to sympathize with, as the marches of the ten years that ended in 1966, but it is in fact an extension of the civil rights movement across the economic frontier. People are asking now for decent jobs, a guaranteed income, the opportunity to move upward on the ladder, the things that most Americans take for granted. On the mall, here in Washington, Resurrection City has been created by those in the Poor People's Campaign. Their leaders are seeking changes that will bring about the dream so nobly espoused by the late Martin Luther King—the real freedom, the meaningful dignity of all men.

As was so eloquently stated by Ralph McGill in the *Atlanta Constitution*: "He died leading no armies in quest of empire. He died in no



One of the dialogues on racism

seat of governmental power. He died amidst no vast wealth. He died trying to win economic justice for garbage collectors.

"This mission for the humble was his last campaign. It can be, if white and black Americans work together, a kind of beginning place."

A beginning place for a new march in a new age. His death, followed by the passage of The Civil Rights Bill of 1968 brought an end to an old era. We are now witnessing the birth of a new one, where a New White Man and a New Black Man can work together to build a New America.

In the squalid slums of the big cities, or sterile Indian reservations, on worked out farmland, in the hills of Appalachia, there are millions of other poor people who do not march, but who also want this freedom, this dignity. I think that we should call these people the "silent marchers." Their look of hopelessness should burn itself into our conscience so that none of us can feel comfortable until we have expended every possible effort to remove that look and replace it with one of hope. We can't hear their voices, but there they are, marching into nothingness.

Let us honor the marcher of the past but let us turn our attention to the problem of today. No longer is it sufficient to march to the symbolic statue of Abraham Lincoln or to march to the symbolic power-source of the Nation, better known as the White House, or to march to the symbol of confederate white supremacy in Montgomery, Alabama. No longer is it sufficient to march to the Capitol State Houses in our various States, or to the steps of our various City Halls. No longer is it sufficient to march with resolutions of protest and petitions for redress—the time has come when we must face a new kind of march.

A new kind of march across the new frontier of economic opportunity. This march is through dangerous territory occupied by poverty, ignorance, crime, and disease. Moreover, as this new march is undertaken in the fields of business, industry, labor, government, and religion—in our various homes and communities and jobs, we must never forget that we are in the midst of a civil rights and human rights revolution.

Black haters may take advantage of this new experience to cry "burn, bomb, kill," and white haters may take advantage to cry "burn, bomb, kill," but both must be rejected by those who hold this country dear. Neither white supremacy or black supremacy must go unchallenged. Men of good will, and I firmly believe they are in the majority, must unite to make this march a success and give the lie to those who would divide us.

This may seem to be impossible, ideal, dreaming, but, as we face the impossible and realize that we must make it possible, as we visualize the ideal and realize that we must make it real, as we contemplate the dream and understand that we must make it come true, so as we cross the frontier of the Space Age, the Automation Age, the Hate Age, the Immoral Age, we must have faith and not fear as our guide. We must realize that there are new conditions which require new approaches, that there are new problems which require new solutions, and new questions which require new answers, and new marches across New Frontiers in this New Age.

As if we didn't have enough problems such as space, automation, immorality and hate, we have suddenly discovered we have another major problem called poverty—added to all of our other problems . . . It is tied in with a problem called disease, and another problem called ignorance. We must realize that now that we have the Civil Rights Bill of 1968, the Marches on Washington and Montgomery are history, and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King is history, we must make preparation for this new kind of march—the march against ignorance, disease and poverty. The march to the War on Poverty offices, the march to the Government anti-poverty coordinators, the march with proposals for new job opportunities. Instead of petitions for the right to ride in the front of the bus, people are marching to the registration booths with votes and to the ballot boxes with signatures. They are marching to the FHA offices with plans for Senior Citizens' homes 221-D3, 220A low-cost housing projects, and TURNKEY III home ownership for the poor project. They are marching into the Neighborhood Youth Corps Centers with young people between 16 and 21 who would have to stop studying if they could not get the $1.25 per hour that is made available through the President's War on Poverty Plan. They are also marching to our Social Security Offices to take advantage of the new medicare bill, to the Comptroller of the Currency for Bank Charters and to the Head Start Office for our nursery school children.

We have one-fifth of the Nation that are ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed, that are in ignorance, disease, and extreme impoverished conditions, people who make less than $3,000 per year, many of whom make less than $1,500 per year. People who are living in conditions where we didn't even know people could live—people whom we call the invisible poor because you don't see them. Go out along the edges of the Arizona desert and you find the people that the Census Bureau hasn't even found. No health departments, no social workers, no police departments—nothing. Fifty or sixty shacks, four walls and a tin roof and one outhouse to be shared by the people living in those fifty shacks. Conditions that are beyond imagination. Go to the Barrios in the Southwest, the hollows in Appalachia, the urban slum ghettos in Harlem, Hough and Watts, the rural poverty pockets in the South, North, East and West, the Indian Reservations. Go and See.

You will find that The Grapes of Wrath, The Harvest of Shame, The Other America are still with us. The President has said that he wants to be known in history as the President who took America's poor people out of these conditions and gave them a new opportunity to move into a Great Society. So we have started what has been called The President's War on Poverty.

The Office of Economic Opportunity working with, innovating for, unifying, coordinating, the efforts of the Total Federal Government's Resources through the Departments of Labor; Agriculture; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; Commerce and Interior.

"The War on Poverty is touching the lives of millions—improving the character of entire communities—setting thousands of young people on the road to constructive citizenship—giving jobs to heads of families—and a new sense of purpose to the aged.

"1. More than 6 million participated in 1967.

"2. Five million have already moved out of poverty in three years. One or more OEO programs have reached the poor in all 50 states, of 97% of U. S. counties.

"3. 90,000 youths have trained in Job Corps.

"4. 1.5 million have been in Neighborhood Youth Centers.

"5. 12 million, including Indians from 114 Tribes on 66 Reservations, have participated in Community Action Programs.

"6. Over 2 million children in Summer Head Start; 50,000 in follow-through all-year Head Start.

"7. 2 million received legal services at the rate of 100,000 monthly in 850 offices with 2,000 lawyers in 48 states.

"8. One million poor received health service.

"9. 23,000 under-achieving teen-agers are now college aspirants through Upward Bound.

"10. 800,000 benefited from 700 Neighborhood Center Services.

"11. 500,000 poor families benefited from consumer action.

"12. 2 million young people in poverty areas benefited from work experience and social summer programs.

"13. 250,000 migrants reached for the first time.

We have made a beginning but we are the first to agree with the Poor People's Representatives who proclaim that this is not enough! How now, can we (and I include you ladies sitting before me)—relate to this new zeal on the part of the poor, this awakening of spirit that has confounded and confused so many.

We must first of all understand that the poor have the same basic desires and ambitions that we possess.

In reaching this realization we can then move to build bridges of understanding between what have formerly been separate communities.

An example, one of the leading Negro middle class organizations in the nation met at Natural Bridge, Virginia, recently and invited three bus loads of local poverty area women to meet them to discuss the subject: "Bridging the Gaps." The Generation Gap, the Racial Gap, the Economic Gap, and the Credibility Gap needed to be bridged.

Mrs. Fred Harris, Chairman of the Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Mrs. Louis Robbins, Chairman of the Conference Planning Task Force

Your own Chairman, Mrs. LaDonna Harris, and the Program Chairman, Mrs. Mildred Robbins, took part in the dialogue and pointed out "It is our hope that Woman Power can build bridges across these gaps.

"It is our plan to examine the ways and means of building bridgeheads with Woman Power between youth and adults; haves and have nots; blacks and whites; government promises made and government promises kept.

"It is our intention to explore the potential use of "Green Power" to bring about "ounce of prevention" and "crisis-resolving" projects at the grass roots level in our cities and in rural America.

"Perhaps, Woman Power plus Green Power will equal peace-making power as well as poverty-removing power."

Tonight, I say to you as Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Robbins and Judge Marjorie Lawson said to the LINKS—Let us begin with *your* Woman-Power at this 2nd Annual Conference for Women In the War on Poverty. Total victory in the War on Poverty depends on you. Communicate with, participate with and join with those who have not yet made it into the mainstream of the American economy. Help them help themselves.

At the same time that War on Poverty programs are utilizing the 1.7 billion dollar resources at its disposal to bridge gaps and take the first step on a long road to complete elimination of poverty, a more militant and direct action approach to the solution of the poverty problem has been initiated by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

This approach has produced the "Poor People's Campaign."

This campaign, which is planned to dramatize the issue of poverty and racism and to offer an alternative to violence and destruction is, according to the Editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*: "Our last best hope." He says: "Two points must be accepted if Americans generally are to understand what is going on.

"First, the march is under the loose but vital leadership of the last, best hope for some semblance of order in the civil rights field—the apostles of nonviolence trained by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. There is violence in the land; there may be some in the march. But its leadership is committed against the red flags of violence which other Negro leaders wave professionally. And this being so, such leadership deserves the hope and the help, not the uninformed enmity, of white America.

"Second, the cause this march represents is alarmingly real. From the poor whites of Appalachia to the hungry blacks of the rural South, there is a serious questioning of the capacity of the American system itself to provide a decent living for the unfavored. A fifth of a rich nation is poor—so poor and so miserable that any who have not seen their poverty should be very careful about judging their anger."

You may agree or disagree with this appraisal. That is the right of all Americans.

However, as a southern white editor, Eugene Patterson is in a unique position to assess the current picture.

OEO's role as advocate of the poor comparable to that of the Labor Department for workers, the Commerce Department for business, the Agriculture Department for farmers, etc., was recently reaffirmed by our Acting Director Bertrand Harding.

In his appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee following the assassination of Dr. King, he said, "I would like to underscore that the programs of OEO while not specifically designed as a civil rights program, or an anti-riot program, are dedicated to the pursuit of that dream for which Martin Luther King so nobly lived and so shockingly died." In his congressional testimony, Director Harding went on to say: "On the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in the summer of 1963, Dr. King spoke eloquently of his dream—the dream of an America in which all men would sit down together in brotherhood. . . ." In working together to create meaningful solutions to poverty in the midst of plenty, literally thousands

Dr. Zelma George

of Americans—black and white—Jew and Christian—Catholic and Protestant—rich and poor are sitting down together, planning together, directing their energies to a common goal for the common good.

Mr. Harding expressed our common concern for common goals—elimination of poverty—when he met with the Reverend Andrew Young and the representatives of the Poor People's Campaign to hear their demands.

He made it clear that their criticisms as well as their recommendations would receive a positive and cooperative response.

Let me conclude with this: It does no good to have the right to ride in the front of the bus if you don't have the bus fare; or the right to sit down in a lunch counter and buy a cup of coffee if you don't have the dime to pay for it.

Is there any real value in having, as one leader has said, "a mouth full of civil rights and an empty stomach?" or a "We shall overcome" banner on a wall that is full of holes, or a floor where the rats are running in and out playing games, and the ceiling is falling down. Our major problem today is on the economic front. Our main attack is versus the enemy of all poor people, black, white, brown, red, and yellow. Against hunger, hopelessness, despair and defeat that automatically go along with poverty. If there are ten jobs for ten people then the color doesn't matter—everyone gets a job—the same goes for houses, education, businesses, culture. You can help with job development, career development, community development, economic development. You can help overcome the handicaps and win the war. Our front is clear; our target is marked; our enemy is poverty—if we do our own job and let other forces do theirs, total victory can be won.

Yes, there is a different drummer leading a new march. A march for new housing, new jobs, new industries, new businesses, new economic power, new political power. In a New Age, we must have a new kind of march, out of the ghettos and the slums, out of the migrant shacks and rural share croppers' despair, out of the Indian reservations, out of the pit of hopelessness toward the day that men such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave their lives to achieve. March on soldiers, don't get weary. We shall overcome.

Miss Genevieve Blatt, Assistant Director
Office of Older Persons Programs, OEO

DID YOU KNOW . . .

. . . that at least 30% of all Americans over 65 years of age are poor

. . . and some statisticians claim the figure is really 43%

. . . that at least 20% of all Americans who are poor are over 65 years old

. . . and, again, that some statisticians say this estimate is also too conservative and that the figure should be 25%

. . . that, although the number of the poor in general has declined dramatically in recent years, thanks both to the "War on Poverty" and to greater employment opportunities for more people, the number of the older poor is very little less

. . . in fact, the number of older *women* living alone and in poverty has actually increased

HAVE YOU EVER THOUGHT. . .

. . . that the double burden of old age and poverty is one which most women probably hate to admit as much as they hate to endure it

. . . that city rooming-houses, and many a run-down home on back-country roads, effectively conceal the presence of women who are both old and poor, and who surely deserve better than the lonely and impoverished isolation we have imposed upon them.

PLEASE REMEMBER . . .

. . . that the hardest hit age-group in the country, as far as poverty is concerned, is the group 65 years of age and older, and most of this group are *women*

. . . many are active, energetic and employable, who want to work at least part-time, and for whom job opportunities should be opened

. . . many could render valuable volunteer services to the community if only their out-of-pocket expenses could be reimbursed, and these services are desperately needed

.. . those who need service themselves should be informed how and where to get it, and aided in applying for it

. . . where needed services are not available, these could usually be supplied, at little or no cost, by any dedicated women's group in the community

WHAT IS *YOUR GROUP* DOING
FOR ALL THESE OLDER POOR
. . . ESPECIALLY THE WOMEN?

A moment of relaxation at the White House

WELCOME TO DELEGATES

Remarks by Bertram M. Harding

Acting Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

I am delighted to be able to welcome you here today to our beautiful city. This is the Second Annual Women's Conference on Poverty, and it comes at a time in our national life when more than ever, we need the unique talents, the compassion and dedication — that "special touch" which women can bring to a humane and worthy project. I salute your energy and enthusiasm, because the task which is before us—helping to cure the conditions which produce poverty, and trying to change attitudes of both the haves and the have-nots which help to perpetuate these conditions—is monumental.

We are now at a very special juncture in our history. After several summers of domestic divisiveness, poor people all over the country are gathering in Washington to petition their Government for a redress of grievances—and after years of fighting and bloodshed in Viet Nam, we can see the light at the end of the tunnel, as this week negotiations to end the conflict began in Paris.

The Poor People's Campaign has an awfully important message for this country. Mexican-Americans, black and white, Indians and Orientals—American citizens all—they are carrying a peaceful grievance to the seat of government. Their cause, the alleviation of poverty, is surely just, because the chief element of the poor people's campaign strategy is nothing more complicated than a conviction that unless some pressure is exerted, nothing of real consequence will occur. Certainly, most of the major civil rights advances of the last decade have followed non-violent demonstrations—the 1963 march on Washington, for example,—which focused new attention and aroused broad public support for the changes which needed to be made.

The poor people's campaign is not demanding the impossible, nor the ridiculous nor the extreme. It is demanding that private industry and government at every level put a higher priority on wiping out poverty in the United States. It is asking Congress to deal more effectively with poverty, with joblessness, with hunger, with hopelessness.

We must realize that the Vietnam War puts a priority demand on the federal budget and that resources are not as available as they otherwise would be to do many of the things government can do to help people rise from poverty. But this war is going to end, and it may be sooner than we think. And it is gratifying to know that Sargent Shriver, as the new Ambassador to France, will have another important role to play in seeing that peace is quickly restored so we can go back to the domestic priorities which need attention.

But lest we dwell too long on our problems—on our domestic divisiveness—on the warfront in Asia, let us remember there are hopeful signs of progress on the homefront: no one, for example, really believed that Congress this year would adopt a strong open-housing bill—until it happened. Businessmen have shown their concern by joining the Urban Coalition.

Yes, there are hopeful signs—that America's pains are not going untreated, that our citizens are not apathetic, that we are not standing still waiting to be totally submerged by problems.

"The only thing the rich ask of the poor," according to Rosseau, "is that they stay out of sight."

Well, the poor are not staying out of sight any longer. If the Office of Economic Opportunity has done nothing else in its short existence, it has accomplished something which even our severest critics will grant us: it has dramatized the plight of the poor to the rest of America.

And OEO has focused concern on problems which others have taken up as their own.

A 100-page report just recently released by the citizens' board of inquiry into hunger and malnutrition in the U.S., indicated that 10,764,000 Americans suffer from hunger, with 20 million more inadequately fed. And this in the richest nation in the world, in the most prosperous of times. No region, no race, no age group, no sex has a monopoly on poverty. Two out of every three poor Americans are white—of the 11 million rural poor, nearly 9 million are white. Nearly half of the poor are 21 or younger; a quarter are 55 or older. And a third of all Americans of 65 or older—5,400,000 of them—are poor. And more than half of them are women.

OEO has had much help in focusing the problem of poverty and bringing the slow, painstaking process of tackling them successfully. You—the women of America who care—have done more than your share.

Women have long been active in the fight against poverty. For many years, women as individuals, working through private organizations, the federal government's Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau, as social workers, in numerous education, manpower and health programs, women have been responding to the needs of the poor. But when OEO was established in 1964, something different happened: for the first time, attention was focused directly on the millions of poor people who had not been reached by existing programs. With each new program, and each new approach—in Community Action, Head Start, Job Corps, Upward Bound, Vista, Foster Grandparents, and Legal Services, new opportunities for women to use their ingenuity and creative talents, to reinspire and reshape lives, and to participate in an urgent challenge to wipe out poverty, were born. Women have responded to this new challenge magnificently. The volunteer effort has been incalculable. On the eve of the last year's women's conference, Mr. Shriver said that at least one million women volunteers have participated in both public and private programs related to the war on poverty in the past three years. And there are many more than that today.

Through your organizations, as individuals, you women can take the **total** approach.

As President Johnson told this conference last year:

> 'Long before there was an official, federal war on poverty,"—long before the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier, the women's groups were fighting poverty in the neighborhoods and legislative halls. Many of the early vic-

tories in the struggle against poverty were won because the women cared enough to work, to plan, and make their influence felt. The battles for compulsory education, the battles against child labor, are two that come most readily to my mind that the women carried on and the women won.

"Now you have organized a new program, using new methods and new resources. But this program—like all of those that have gone before—will succeed only if you make the same commitment that women have made over the generations past, and that commitment is— to teach—to heal—to awaken the conscience of this great nation."

Last February Mr. Shriver asked Americans to undertake a national pledge—to commit the dollars now being spent in Viet Nam to solving the pressing human problems here at home when war costs decrease. The pledge was this:

> "I pledge that when peace comes in Viet Nam, I will use my influence as a citizen and as a voter to make sure that the savings in military expenses will be invested in our human resources here at home—especially for the benefit of the poor."

He called it the "plowshare pledge." Why couldn't the women of America adopt this pledge— and urge your Congressmen and your Senators, and public officials of both political parties, to do the job which needs to be done?

Mrs. Walter Washington

Substituting for her husband, the Mayor of Washington, D. C. Bennetta Washington, Director of the Women's Centers, Job Corps Program, OEO, welcomed the delegates to the city and to the Convention. The following remarks are excerps from her address.

I think it is very important, that each of us carefully examine our roles in the community and in the nation today because you know that you have tremendous potential, that you haven't really begun to unleash this potential, and that the times are going to be more and more difficult that are ahead of us.

My husband is working with many people in this community to create an urban environment capable of developing new attitudes, attitudes other than the attitudes of rebellion and of despair.

He says everyone wants a piece of the action. He is saying that those who feel disinherited have no stake in a city . . . those who feel disinherited have no stake in a nation . . . only real involvement for the poor people here and everywhere else in these United States, provides the kind of self respect . . . that makes a community stable.

If we are to survive at all . . . and it is just that serious . . . we have to find ways to revitalize the lives of all the people who live here.

We've got to begin to really bring about change that will use all of these magnificent energies that are here among the young people of our land and the poor of our land in constructive rather than destructive ways.

We don't just have one world . . . we don't even have just two . . . we have a number of worlds with many different kinds of views that do not understand one another . . . and where there is a lack of understanding, there is suspicion, where there is suspicion there is fear, and where there is fear there is hate.

The best contribution you can make is to assist others to realize their highest potential.

Search your minds and your hearts here to determine your own expertise, to determine the depth of your commitment, to understand where you can best serve well, and to understand where you can best support well.

Vice President Humphrey greets Job Corps girls at Senate Reception

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S SPEECH

I'm very happy that I could share these few minutes with the ladies that are here from all around our country in the Second Annual Conference of the Women in the War on Poverty. Some of you I saw this morning at the White House as I was coming from a meeting there and said to you that I'd see you a little later, and I'm so happy that you are here to greet me again. I thought you might disappoint me.

Well, I want to make it perfectly clear in the very first place that I'm here as your Vice-President, and your luncheon speaker was that great Senator, that clear, brilliant voice from Oklahoma, Fred Harris; and you know how rumors get around in this town. There are just people that will talk. And people might start thinking that this whole conference was part of a Stop-Stassen movement or something like that.

I want you to know that it has a very noble purpose, and we're going to concentrate on that purpose. Let me only say that next year, when you hold your third annual conference, I really would like to be invited again.

I already told you, not as Vice-President, but I do want to be invited.

We can praise each other and pat each other on the back and say it's all fine and good, but what's more important is, what are we planning to do?

But I do want to, first of all, salute you, congratulate you, and to salute you and all the women of America that are involved in this magnificent effort, this very vital support of the War on Poverty; but I'll not take the time to praise your efforts on behalf of the WICS, the Women in Community Service, or of Head Start, or VISTA, or the dozens of other programs. I want to talk a little, instead, about where do we go from here.

For the most part, you represent the so-called "power structure" of America. And I do not use that term disparagingly. You represent the groups of women in America who for the most part have made it as professionals, you've made it on your own as officials in Government, labor officials, business leaders, social workers, civic leaders. You represent part of the power of America. It gives us the right to hope that we can win this War on Poverty in America. And that's the one war in which there ought to be no conscientious objectors. Don't burn any draft cards for this one—or in any way try to avoid your responsibility.

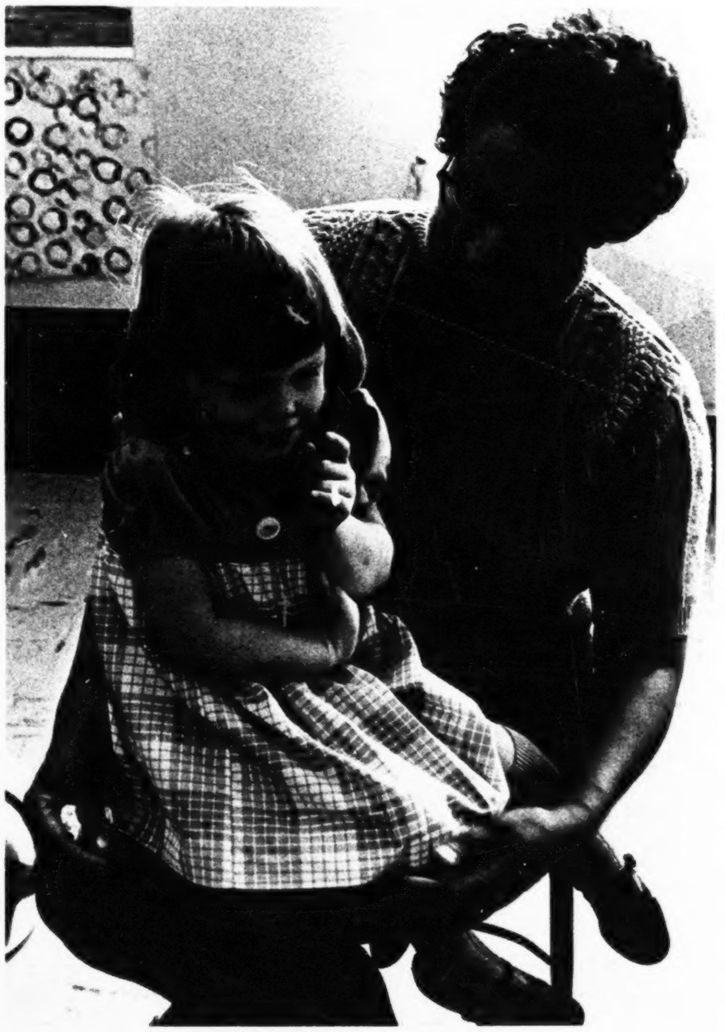
To be effective, however, that power that I speak of must be used in common cause with those who have thus far been left out—the left-outs of our society. And it must be shared —shared with those people, and not just used on them.

I've been trying to talk to the people of this country about our new democracy. And really we are in a new democracy, with an ever-broadening base of participation. Remember that democracy is the continually unfinished business of a free people. We never quite complete the house of democracy; we keep improving it. This whole concept of freedom as we know it, has grown and expanded throughout the centuries.

As I told a group the other day, once freedom meant sixteen hours work a day. Once it even meant a walled city. Those within it thought they were free—at least they were free from attack. But today freedom means much more than that It means the right of a citizen to participate in every decision that affects his or her life. It is not just government *for* the people, but it is government *of* the people and *by* the people. And I think the most singularly important development of the last five years has been the fact that we have begun to include in the decision-making process of our democracy people who for generations were really the forgotten ones, the left-outs, the neglected, and the denied.

These Community Action Committees, all across our country, represent the broadening of the base of the democratic process. A labor union, with its membership, represents a broadening of the base of the democratic process that leads to decision-making.

All over the world, people are seeking to be heard. What they are saying is, "I count. Don't treat me like an IBM card. Don't give me a number; remember my name." And sometimes people even come up and poke at you a bit just to remind you that they're there. In this age of mass movements and big government, big industry, big labor, traffic congestion, big business, big money, big cities—everything big, big universities. People are beginning to want to be recognized as individuals, and that's really what's going on practically all over the world.



It's going on in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the Soviet Union, the United States, Latin America, Asia. There is a revolution of individuality going on that lends itself to individual dignity and to self-respect. Now, none of that I had in here; but I thought I'd just tell you what's on my heart. This is what I really believe.

From the college campus to the slum, people are asking to be recognized as individuals, but not to be treated as numbers, or just as factors in the sociologists' or social scientists' graphs and charts. They want to be known as individuals, with all that that means.

Now, I said that we're going to have to share this power with those who have been left out and those who occasionally have had the power used on them, because the people that I speak of have a real kind of power to offer too. They have a citizen power, which is being demonstrated today in another part of the nation's capital right now at this very moment. I was there this afternoon. I went on down to see these people—I wanted to see those that came here in peaceful petition of their grievances, seeking redress for their grievances—and every one of you ought to read the Declaration of Independence so that you know what we're really talking about. People have a right to petition for the redress of grievance in this country, and don't anybody try to hush them up; because someday you may want to petition for the redress of your grievance .

I saw some very fine people today. I didn't see any reason that they should have to look for me. I thought I'd go down and look for them.

And I told their leadership that their office at the Executive Office Building and up here at the Capitol were open. Because those of us who are elected public officials do not own these offices; we're just temporarily there, and sometimes for a very short period of time.

And as long as our people, our fellow citizens, whoever they may be, as long as their petition is within the law, and as long as it is a peaceful petition, I think they have a right to be heard.

Let me tell you what I think we really ought to do. I may get into trouble for this, but I really think that we could use a kind of open town meeting in this country, right here in the nation's capital. I have a thought that I may develop into a positive action program if we can work it out. Rather than to have people worrying and fretting and fearing—worrying and fretting over circumstances and fearing one another—and that's really what's happening in our society—I kind of thought it might not be a bad idea if we could have an open town meeting, where those of us that are in the Congress go down there to the Lincoln Memorial and sit on those steps like Congress in joint session and let the spokesmen of those who have grievances come to us in planned, responsible, short messages and make their appeal to the Congress of the United States—

You'd have to be an unusually unpatriotic American if you didn't behave in the presence of the statue of Abraham Lincoln. If that isn't a spiritual experience, I've never had one—to go and to even walk by that monument, that memorial, and to see the grandeur of that figure, and to almost see life itself in that marble. I really believe that there are so many good ways to work out our problems. So many reasonable ways. I sometimes wonder why we mess it up so much.

You know, our President is often known for quoting his favorite quotation from Scripture, from the prophet Isaiah, where the prophet said, "Come, let us reason together." Oh, I wish it was on every public building. I sometimes think we ought to put it on every piece of stationery. I sometimes think we ought to put it on every cuff and every hemline—"Come, let us reason together," and maybe then we wouldn't find ourselves in such ugly demonstrations of disrespect for one another.

This is really what we're talking about here. These people, these thousands of Americans—there were only hundreds there today—are coming here as hopeful citizens. And they have come peacefully, to every community, by the way. And they've come peacefully like other marchers in 1963, knowing that the success of their cause depends upon their moral power and not on violence. And I want you to know that if there are those who commit acts of violence, they are the people that muscled their way in. They do not represent those who are really here to petition.

There are always a few blisters on the best of trees—even on a mighty oak. And there are always some that latch onto a noble and worthy purpose and try to exploit it and abuse it; but let's not lose sight of the purpose and the cause just because there are those who try to exploit and abuse and degrade.

Their grievances—and I speak now of the poor—and those of all poor people that they represent—their grievances are just. Hunger in a land of agricultural plenty—now, you can't justify that. Unnecessary infant mortality in a nation with the most advanced medical science! I wish I had the statistics that I frequently use about what happens—what your chance is for a life if you're a poor person, how much sooner you die, how more often you're ill, the increased rate of infant mortality.

When you talk about equal opportunity, it is not equal opportunity when the statistics show that the odds are against you even to live.

Yes, their grievances, I say, are just. They protest illiteracy and the lack of skill in the country which has from the beginning known that man cannot be both ignorant and free. That's the statement of Thomas Jefferson, and he's good enough for me. You have to make a choice. You cannot be both ignorant and free.

So let's be clear about this: The power of just grievances and peaceful petition in a country with a conscience—and America has a strong one—plus the power of the establishment—which some of us represent here—can together solve the problem of injustice, of deprivation, of discrimination and poverty in America by the time the children sleeping in the lean-tos in East Potomac Park tonight have grown up. We can get the job done. And we're going to have to do it together. That's what's important—to talk to each other, to find common cause, and to do it together.

I say that we can do it now if we'll just make up our minds to. I've said so many times, but it reveals my feelings: As Chairman of the Space Council—and I do preside over that important work—I say that any nation that has the wherewithall, all the means and the technology and the science to put a man on the moon in this immediate period, between now and 1971 or '72, ought to be able to put a man on his feet right here on earth.

I met with the Mayors of the great cities this morning. I went with three of the Mayors this afternoon down into the poverty area, Resurrection City, to visit with the leadership there. And I talked to them about this country of ours and what we ought to be able to do.

An $850 billion economy! We're not a poor country. This is the only country in the world where the poor are a minority, interestingly enough. And by the way, the poor, you know, are not all black. As a matter of fact, more of them are white. Poverty knows no race or region. And the poverty that I speak of is not so much just the poverty of the purse, because that can be remedied so quickly, even by a relief check; but it is the poverty of spirit which comes through deprivation.

And it's the poverty to which we have to direct our attention and our energy.

Well, we had a good talk—we public officials, today, the Mayors and the Vice-President. And I urged them to come up here to Congress and do a little work because we have a battle on our hands up here to preserve even what we have.

What about this present poverty program? I know a lot of people say that it's not all it should be. I suppose that's right. But let me tell you what it really is. It is an experiment in trying to get at the root causes of poverty. And we need social invention in this country just like we need industrial invention.

We've been dealing with poverty, just like Queen Elizabeth back in 1514 has dealt with it. We are living under the Elizabethan poverty-charity code, and since then, in the last few years, we've begun to try to find ways and means to get at the root cause of poverty, to save lives. You know, there are a lot of walking dead in this country, dead of spirit, of hope, dead from despair and hatred and bitterness. And every time that we're able to save one of those persons, a life has been saved.

We decorate people all over America—the Red Cross selects them for saving lives. Well, I know employers that have saved lives. I know labor unions that have saved lives. I know plenty of schools that have saved lives and people in many civic organizations, women's organizations, that have saved lives. How? Not as a doctor or a nurse, not snatching somebody away from an oncoming truck or a bus, but teaching them a skill, giving them some hope, giving them an education, inspiring them to motivation and self-respect. That's saving a life. You tell me more important business than that.

And the one thing I love most about my country, and our country, is that we're willing to spend thousands and thousands and thousands of dollars to save one life—not just in a hospital, but to save a life in a ghetto, in a Job Corps program, in a training and reemployment program.

And I'm telling you, we've learned a great deal. We've learned that you can do it. A few years ago, people would have said, "Well, there will always be this hard-core unemployed group; there's nothing you can do about it." You and I know differently now. Imagine tonight, my dear friends, if some laboratory discovered the cure for any one form of cancer, and imagine if that laboratory said, "Well, we were just experimenting, and we don't intend to produce the product. We just wanted to see if it would work. And if we're going to produce it, we'll just produce a little bit."

Imagine what would happen in this country! Have you ever had cancer in your family? I've had two cases, a brother and a son. Let me tell you, you'll do anything to find the man who has the cure. And you'll stop at nothing.

Now, we have learned something about how to cure poverty. And I'll tell you that more people die from poverty than die from cancer. And it takes longer. The misery is even more painful. So when you have the cure, something that works—you ought to use it. It's almost criminal not to.

We know, for example, that Project Head Start works. We know that the learning process from the age four to seven is the most vital period in the life of a human being. We know that a protein deficiency curbs and destroys intellectual capacity. You know it as well as you know your name. Now, do you have any right to deny someone the brain power, intellectual power in a country that has an abundance of food? This is why we're working on fish protein concentrate. Maybe you don't know, but this is one of the things that we have done this past year. I personally saw to it that the fish protein concentrate program which makes available protein at little or nothing for cost, a penny a day, enough to give a healthful diet—that it was approved by the Food and Drug Administration, that we proceeded with it, and we're establishing plants to develop this fish protein concentrate for the hungry all over the world.

It didn't get a headline, because it couldn't crowd out the dead in Vietnam. Sometimes I wonder if people are interested in saving lives. I am. I prefer to be in the life-saving business rather than the life-taking business—any time, and I want you to be.

When you know these things—and you ladies do know it—go to work and do something about it. Project Head Start doesn't need to be an experiment. It ought to be a fact. Every boy and girl in this country at age four ought to be in some kind of preschool program. You know it. And the richest country on the face of the earth, that can build a new nightclub every minute, can afford to have a Head Start program.

I'm not telling you not to build, not to go to nightclubs, I'm not trying to tell you what to do—my dad never told me what time to go to bed; he just told me what time to get up, that's all.

I want to say a word about how much we can gain from what I call, what you and I call "the left-outs." More than any other public program in our history, I think this War on Poverty has demonstrated that the "in's" and the "out's" can work together; they can help each other, persuade each other. It's been good for both of us.

I've been both, you know. I know. I've had a little bit of being left out and a little bit more of being let in. And if you want to know the truth, I like to be in better than I like to be out.

I happen to believe that this great program has given us the experience to know that the disadvantaged, the unskilled, and the unhoping can be made full and active participants and productive citizens in our country. I believe that this program gives us a viable framework for an expanded effort, a framework new within the last four years—just think of it! That's all we've been at this, just four years.

The War on Poverty includes much more than OEO. It includes education and welfare, training and health, housing and economic development. The greatest single success in the War on Poverty is an expanding economy. The minimum wage law did a lot to help on the War on Poverty, included twelve million more people the last two years under its coverage at $1.60 an hour, minimum. That's quite an effort in the War on Poverty.

This program depends on state and local action as well as Federal, and private action as well as public; and that's where you come in. Now, when you go home, don't just keep looking back to Washington. You've got a state capital and a county courthouse and a city hall. The Government of the United States isn't down here; this is just part of it. And every so often I find people that just keep looking to Washington, and I suggest that if you—a little short-sighted, some of your vision may not be so good—try to find city hall, for a change—and try to find the county courthouse, and try to find the state capital—because under our Federal system, we can do very little that's effective unless we have state and local cooperation. That's just a fact of life.

The OEO, however, is the central headquarters for the War on Poverty, and it must be adequately financed.

NYC at the Conference.

And this Administration—you know, we've got a Joint Chiefs of Staff for our military, and that's financed. No problem about that. I suggest the staff organization on the War on Poverty be financed too—or you're going to lose it.

We're determined to get every penny we can from Congress for this anti-poverty program. And the President has asked Congress for $2,180,000,000 for OEO programs alone next fiscal year, starting in July. That's a half billion dollars more than we had this year; and it's almost three times as much as we had the first year. And we're not going to get it unless you ladies just really go to it. And when they start voting all these cuts—and that's the talk of the town—you'd better make sure that this program is not one of those that's shaved and cut. Because it is bare bones now—not a dime in it more than we need, and we ought to have more, not less.

I want to tell you that every dollar less for OEO means a dollar less for Head Start. It means a dollar less for the Job Corps or the Neighborhood Youth Corps or Operation Mainstream, or VISTA, or Upward Bound, or Health Centers, or other exciting and needed programs. And these programs must not be crippled—but they will be, believe me, unless you go to work.

We're confronted right now in the Congress of the United States, with two particular conference reports. We tried to add $75 million for the summer programs here. In this country $75 million, my friends, with an $850 billion economy, is not much. That $75 million may mean the difference between a peaceful summer and a violent one. And we've argued about it for two and a half months in Congress.

Now we've passed it twice in the Senate. We added $25 million for Head Start—not billion—I said $25 million. I cast the deciding vote as Vice-President. It was a tie vote, and that amendment would have been killed, but I was there and I voted for the extra $25 million. That's been done twice, and it still hasn't been approved.

So if you really want to do something for your country—and you do, every one of you—I see the finest people here. Just call on the members of the Conference Committee. You can find out who they are—La Donna Harris will give you the names. And if she doesn't have them I'll provide them for you as soon as we're through with the meeting. And let's get that little amount to help our people this summer, because if we don't I think we're going to be sorry.

But at the bottom of all of this, friends, there's nothing that replaces the human factor.

I'm chairman of your Youth Opportunity Program in this country, and we have cities all over America organized as never before. Money isn't everything, but it runs a good second-best!

And you need both money and people, and above all you need people with dedication. I wouldn't want you to think that we haven't been doing something, and I would be remiss in my responsibilities as Vice-President if I didn't conclude on this note.

I have a little sheet of paper here which I just grabbed out of my briefcase before I came here. I want to show you something. We have $80 billion in our present Federal budget for social programs. $80 billion—that's a substantial amount of money.

For Health, Education and Welfare and social security—now, listen to this: That's money that goes to the needy, most of it, and for the better things of our country. In 1961, the budget was $18 billion. In 1964, it was $23 billion. In this year, for fiscal '69, starting July, it's $46.7 billion. Now, you compare that to $23 billion in 1964, or compare it to last year—to $42 billion.

I know a lot of people say, "Oh, the President hasn't done much." Well, I'll tell you, when you increase health, education and welfare and social security from $23 billion in 1964, when this man became President, to $46.7 billion starting July this year, you may not have done everything, but you've done twice as much as anybody ever did before.

Listen to these figures on federal aid to education. When I came into Congress, the first vote I ever made was on federal aid to education. Of course, we lost it. They used to kill it on either race or religion. If you ran out of enough bigotry, you always had some discrimination. They'd pass it one time in the Senate and kill it in the House, and they'd pass it in the House and kill it in the Senate; and they never did it on the basis of educational need, but neither on the basis of church-and-state or on the basis of religion—or race.

We've finally got around to where we've started talking about people and children. And we have a President that used to teach in a country school down in Southwest Texas, and his students were Mexican-Americans; and he decided that maybe it would be a good idea if they had a little better break in life. And we live under the proposition, and work under the proposition, that every child should have all the education that he or she is capable of absorbing.

Federal aid to education—total aid in everything, higher, elementary, vocational, everything—1961 $3,300,000,000; 1964, $4,700,000,000; 1968, $9 billion; 1969 fiscal, starting this July 1, $12,300,000,000. Now, we've come up from $3.3 billion in '61 to $12.3 billion in '69—that means, in eight years we have gained $9 billion in federal aid to education. Thirty bills have been passed in federal aid to education, and where does that money go, most of it? To the deprived, to the needy, in the War on Poverty.

And—these are the last figures. I know you can't remember them all, but some of you are taking some notes. For 1961, all the money that your Federal Government spent for all forms of assistance to the poor, anything from school lunch to surplus food to unemployment compensation — everything put together, was —1961, $9½ billion; 1964, $12½ billion; last year, going up to June 30, this year—that's fiscal '68—$23 billion. The coming year, $28,100,000,000.

That's what we're pouring in now in all programs to those persons that fall under the category of the poor, that's with incomes under $3,000 a year. That's $28,100,000,000. Why did I tell you this? Because many of the things that we say are sometimes interpreted as if we're not doing anything, and I keep hearing that we're not doing much.

Well, I want to make it clear: I think we can do more. I know I can always do better, and I keep telling my sons they can do better and my daughter that she can do better. I even get so bold once in a while as to tell my wife she can do better.

That doesn't go over very good, but I try it. And then she reminds me who really can do better. Of course we can all do better. But I think the important thing for us to remember is, because of you and because of what you've done, we have been doing better. More importantly, what we've been doing is working, and don't let somebody sell you short on it. It is working. And we just need your help to keep this program moving.

Be as restless as you can be without getting to a point where you've just lost your sense of direction. Just push ahead. Insist that we do a better job. Excellence in performance has to be our standard.

Senator Fred Harris, the keynote speaker

ADDRESS OF U.S. SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS (D.-OKLA)

I am glad to be here for a lot of reasons. I believe in women. I believe in this group of women.

—and I am impressed by your chairman.

I've always said that I thought Indian Affairs are the best kind . . .!

I didn't start off with the usual greetings, you know. We politicians always try to ingratiate ourselves with whatever group it is we are speaking to. Like saying, "My fellow poor people . . .

. . . which wouldn't have been so very far wrong. We say, "My fellow rotarians, or my fellow rainbow girls—whatever group it is we are talking to—". But I have been sort of broken of the habit of trying to ingratiate myself with these exclusive organizations.

My wife is a member of a very exclusive organization, the Comanche Indian Tribe, and so are our three children members of the Comanche Indian Tribe. I'm not a member of any Indian Tribe.

When she and I were going together, down there in Oklahoma, I had read and heard a great deal about the Osage Indians up in the Northeastern part of our state. I had heard about the oil wells they were supposed to have, and the Cadillacs they were supposed to drive, and so forth. I thought it was that kind of a deal that I was getting into.

It turned out, however, very unfortunately that the Comanche Indian Tribe is one of the poorer Indian Tribes. Uncle Sam hasn't paid very much attention to them.

Until we had been married a great many years—the Comanches together with the Apaches got a claim against the Federal Government for \$2½ million. Well, they tried to divide it up per capita and it came to \$45 a head and that was welcome news at our house!

Well, I am not quite sure how I ought to address you to ingratiate myself with you, but I am very pleased to be here and to have an opportunity to talk about this subject which has been assigned to me. I think that, as all of us read the magazines and newspapers and listen to radio and watch television these days, as we all do, I think we almost want to cry out with Hamlet and say, "The time is out of joint, Oh, cursed spite that ever I was born to set it right." And I think all over America there is a kind of a wave of home-sickness for the past. And I am not immune to it either. I don't think any of us are, and I think a lot of us spend a great bit of our time dwelling upon what we fondly call, "The good old days", and I think it doesn't take very much reflection on the part of this group, surely, to realize that those good old days weren't always the way we remember them. Because when we remember them, we always allow a little of the mist of nostalgia to becloud our memories and we remember them not so much as they were, but as we wish they had been.

I, for one, wouldn't want to go back to the good old days of the 1950's, when we had the Korean War, one period of severe inflation and two periods of severe recession. I wouldn't want to go back to the good old days of the 1940's, when during World War II more of our young men were killed than you and I can hardly even imagine today. And I certainly wouldn't want to go back to the good old days of the 1930's. I was growing up down there in Oklahoma in those good old days. And I recall, rather vividly, that in those good old days, we had our dust bowl and depression, and souplines and suicides.

I think the realization comes rather rapidly to all of us that this isn't the only generation that has problems. Every generation has problems. And every generation must meet and solve its own. And I think the realization also comes to us that the problems of our day, tough as they are, and they are tough, tough problems, are problems caused not so much by chance or circumstance or bad luck as they are caused by people. And people can meet the problems of our generation as they have in every generation past; but they can't do it by wishing they could go back to some other generation's problems, or wishing that we could not have to face up to the problems that are ours. We have to be willing to face up to reality.

I think a lot of us, too, are like a folk singer that La Donna and I saw not too long ago at the Celler Door in Georgetown. While he tuned up his guitar, he had a running patter to fill up the time, and one of the things he said was, "If I ever get this thing tuned again, I am going to weld it."

I think a lot of us are like that. We just want to get everything fixed up and settled and solved once and for all, and then just not be bothered anymore, and say "Well, what are you talking to me about Civil Rights? I thought we passed that bill last year. I thought we got that all settled. What are you talking to me about social legislation? Goodness, didn't we pass a lot of that in the last session?"

Well, I think we are going to have to face up to reality, all of us, if we are going to meet the problems of our day, and I think the central reality of our age, perhaps of any age, the central reality of our age is change. Change has occurred. It is occurring and will occur. And I think there are a lot of reasons why that is true.

I think there are forces of change that work upon our lives and that work upon our society that have radically altered our lives and radically altered our society, especially since the end of World War II, in ways which many of us barely grasp and little comprehend.

One rather obvious force of change is the explosion of population. The first speech I ever made was as a senior in high school down at Walters, Oklahoma, a little town of about 2,000 population. It was 1948, and what I was talking about then was the growth in population in the county and the kinds of problems that that was going to cause.

Now, that is just twenty years ago. Then, in 1948, this was a country of under a 150,000,000 people. As many of you know, just this past November, here in Washington, at the Department of Commerce Building, we had a little ceremony to commemorate the fact that America, now, just twenty years later, had become a country of 200,000,000 people.

And, if we are going to face up to reality, we have to face toward the future. We have to understand that tonight at 12:00, there will be 6400 more Americans than there were last night at 12:00. Our country grows at the rate of 6400 additional Americans every day. And even with presently declining birth rates, by the year 2000, which seems a long way off, but is just 32 years away, a shorter period than I have now lived, this will be a country of over 300,000,000 people. We will have grown another hundred million people in just the next 32 years. We have greatly increased numbers of people in America and with those greatly increased numbers of people, we have greatly increased problems.

Now, no amount of campaign rhetoric, no amount of wishful thinking, no amount of wishing we could go back to some other generation's problems that we perceive now to have been easier than the ones we now have, will wash away the fact that in a country that is just 200,000,000 people now, already, 14½ million young people under the age of 17 do not get a sufficient diet because they live in poverty. There isn't any way that we can wish away the fact. Already in a country of just 200 million people, we killed last year on our highways, 52,000 Americans. No way to get away from the fact that already, in just a country of 200 million people, 38 million Americans live in dilapidated and deteriorating houses and that in just the next 32 years, we have to build a completely new additional America to keep up with the population growth and to do something about these 38 million Americans who are already living in unacceptable kinds of conditions.

No amount of wishful thinking will get us away from the fact that already in a country of just 200 million people, the air we breathe in most of our cities is hazardous to health and that the water which runs around most of our populous areas is unfit for fish, not to mention human beings.

There is no way to get away from the fact that this year there are one million more eighteen-year-olds entering the job market or going into college than we had last year, or the fact that all of our colleges and all of our high schools and all of our grade schools are already overcrowded. And then we have to make ourselves think, painful or not, we have to make ourselves think how it may be just thirty-two years from now, unless you and I intervene, how it may be when this country is not 200 million people but a country of over 300 million people.

I think there is another kind of explosion, though, that has had greater impact on us, and that is the explosion of knowledge and technology. The two most startling facts I learned after I became Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee On Government Research, were, one: that 90 percent of all the scientists who ever lived in the history of the world are alive right now.

And the other fact I think is equally startling, and that is, that 85 percent of all the PhD degrees ever granted in the history of America have been granted since the end of World War II.

Now, what does that mean? It means, for example, that this isn't the same kind of world it was when the Irish and Italian and Jewish immigrants, for example, were moving up in society at a time when a sixth grade education was a marvelous accomplishment, and most of the jobs were for the unskilled. Today, a person must have an almost unbelievably high, and an increasingly higher, level of skills or education if he is going to be of any value in our society, if he is going to be of any value to his family or to himself.

And it also means, for example, that in a recent year in my home state of Oklahoma, we lost 1100 jobs, previously available to the poorly skilled or poorly educated, just because of the automation of elevators. And it still goes on.

Those startling facts mean that if you are a farmer, and farming, a rather noble calling, is all that you know, the only skill that you have, you very likely live in a rather harsh world, indeed, today. It means, that if mining is the way you make your living, like your father did before you, modern fuels and modern technology have likely robbed you of your livelihood, but more than that, robbed you of your value to your family and to society, itself. And then I think that explosion of knowledge and technology has had some other fallout.

One fallout is instantaneous communication.

Instantaneous communication has done radically new kinds of things to us. For one thing, none of us can now enjoy the luxury of ignorance. We didn't use to have to worry so much about these problems, because we didn't know so much about them. Now there isn't any way to avoid them, to avoid knowing about these problems. We are bombarded with them every day. There is no way to get away from the problems. We have to share the problems. And that makes us uneasy and it worries us and it nags us. We would just as soon not know about those things; but we have to. There isn't any way to escape it.

It means, for example, this instantaneous communication, that if you are poor in America, you know that the overwhelming percentage of Americans are not poor, and that is frustrating.

It has done interesting things to our children as well. No child, you know, no minority, no family, no anybody, can be insulated from or isolated from anyone else anymore. Children, especially, I think, these days, even better than most of us who are older, have to look at the real world, have to look at the real problems. I think many of us let our vision as we look out at the world cloud up a little by the way we remember how things were when we were growing up, or the way we remember they were five years ago, or ten years ago.

These kids have to just look at it the way it is. And I think that that is a new kind of thing. They are bombarded with an amazing array of new ideas and new things and I think therefore, increasingly, every father has increasing difficulty in communicating with his child.

I think another kind of fallout from this explosion of knowledge and technology, is high mobility. We are a restless, moving kind of people now. In a recent year, 36 million Americans changed residence. 13 million of those moved across county lines and half of that number moved across state lines.

I grew up, as I said, in the little town of Walters. This is the kind of town Walters was —if a leading citizen died the paper would say something like this, "Mr. So-and-so, a leading citizen of Walters, died today at the age of 95. Though he was not a native of Walters, he came here with his family when he was two years old . . ."

. . . it was that kind of a town!

Well, for an increasingly larger number and percentage of Americans, it is increasingly difficult to maintain a sense of continuity of the old, three-generation family. It is increasingly difficult to maintain family ties and community ties. The traditional mechanisms that we turn to when we are in trouble, and for a great many Americans, it has meant a move from rural areas and small towns on into the city. Yet, I think many of us continue to idealize about the way things are. I think many of us, myself included, continue to think of America as a place where the real American lives on a farm or in a small town known by, and knowing his neighbors, secure, in a sense of belonging, of community, knowing who he is and where he fits; that's not an accurate picture of America.

This is a country where 70 percent of our people live on only 1 percent of the land. 30 percent of our people live on all the other 99 percent of the land, and that movement still continues. It is 500,000 to 600,000 additional Americans every year moving from rural areas and small towns on into the cities. For an increasing number of Americans, they are living in a society where neighbors are often faceless; where Government is far removed; where decisions are impersonally made with little contact with or involvement of those who are served by or who are touched by those decisions. These are facts that we have to think about. We tend to idealize the American family. We think of the typical American family as a close-knit group constantly together, seated around the dinner table presided over by a benevolent but governing father, each member of the family in easy communication with the others, and each member of the family essential to the family's well-being.

But for an ever-increasing number and percentage of American families, that too, is an inaccurate picture. One thing: this is a society where there is no work for children. None needed and none required. Furthermore, it is a society where children mature physically at the average age of twelve, not seventeen, as it was a century ago. And because of the explosion of knowledge and technology, the bombardment with ideas, children mature mentally and intellectually at a far earlier age as well; because of the educational and skills requirement, though, they are held out of society for longer and longer periods all the time, during which time we sort of put them at playing games and won't allow them really to be involved in any decisions that have any effect upon their lives, we don't allow them really to participate.

And so, this is a society where children mature physically and mentally at far earlier ages than ever before and are held out of society longer and longer and in the meantime have less to do.

Now, I think there is another kind of force at work upon us and it is not a new one, like these others. It is an old force. It has been with us always. It is central to the history of our country. We temporized with it, we have compromised with it, we have hoped that it would sort of go away; but it hasn't, and it is still with us. It is a rather ugly thing to say. It's a rather painful kind of thing to admit. But I think that if we won't admit that the diagnosis—we are never going to get around to the cure. And that is this matter of racism.

Now, people say to me, "But aren't American Negroes much better off than Negroes are anywhere else in the world?" Well, the answer to that of course, is "Yes." But American Negroes are not Tennesseeans, or South Africans, or Biafrans, they are Americans. We have to remember that. Slavery, you know, was no

culture-bearer. And even more than the case of the American Indian, which is sad enough, it stripped a man of his language, of his culture, of his religion, of his ties to his homeland, of his heritage, of his heroes, and unless we allow American Negroes to be Americans, then what are they?

People say, "Well aren't the American Negroes so much better off than they have ever been, before?" When you and I think about great appointments, such as Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court, or the election of a good man, Ed Brooke, to the United States Senate, and we know of, in our own communities, of Negroes who are moving up in our own companies and communities, socially and economically; but for most American Negroes things have not gotten better, they have gotten worse. They have gotten worse, first, relatively. As every white income has gone up, the gap between average Negro income and average white income has not narrowed, it has widened.

It is still true in America that the average Negro high school graduate makes $2,000 less than the average white high school graduate. It is still true in America that if he goes on a little further, the gap gets bigger. The average Negro college graduate makes $3,000 less than the average white college graduate. And a fellow was telling me just last night, or night before last, in Chicago, Harvard Business School has graduated 18 Negroes, which is an interesting kind of thing in itself, just 18. But they make, on the average, beginning salaries $6,000 lower than the average white graduate of Harvard Business School.

It is still true in America that the average Negro college graduate makes about the same as the average white high school dropout.

Now those are the kinds of things that we have to know about ourselves. We have to know that in the Hough section of Cleveland—now I am not talking about relative to white, I am talking about absolute terms, now for most Negroes, things have gotten worse in absolute terms.

Now in the Hough section of Cleveland, that Negro section of that city where Negroes are allowed to live, the average family income in 1960 was $4700 a year. By 1965 that had gone down, not up. The average family income had gone down from $4700 to $4000. In the Hough section of Cleveland in 1960, 31 percent of the people living there were poor. By 1965, that percentage had gone up, not down. It had gone up from 31 percent to 39 percent.

That is true in the Negro sections of Chicago; it's true in Harlem; it's true in Bedford-Stuyvesant; it's true in the black ghettos all over America. And people say, "With these Civil Rights Bills, and so forth, haven't we really sort of gotten rid of discrimination?"

I went out to one midwestern city, together with John Lindsey. We started off in that Commission operation, by walking around this country, singly and in pairs, anonymously, just looking at America. We went into a great, northern, liberal, progressive city, and there we found that the Negro population of that city, (and this is typical all over America) because of the continued in-migration, and because of the high birth rate, which is we think, tied directly with education and income, had increased by more than 50 percent since the end of World War II, but the area where Negroes are allowed to live in that city had increased by only about 25 percent, and so you had more and more human beings packed into less and less space. Four and five families living where one was intended. This is an interesting commentary on this. We had a press conference at the end of our day and one of the questions they asked us immediately, was: "Surely, you didn't find here in our city, the kinds of slums that we hear about and read about in other cities of America?" At that very moment, asked by newsmen who ought to know their city, if anybody does, we were standing one block away from one of the worst slums I ever saw in America. That's the kind of thing we do, somehow. We just don't let ourselves see these kinds of things. But in this city, where the population of Negroes had increased by more than 50 percent, territory by only 25 percent since the end of World War II, here comes the black man back from Vietnam. Back from fighting for our country, not interested really in integrating that city, not really interested in buying a house way over in the white section, just interested in buying a better house than he could buy in that deteriorating, garbage strewn black slum of that city. Try to buy a house just across the street from the territory where Negroes are allowed to live, and he couldn't do it. Now, it is much too late, it's just too late for that in America. In a country where we tax people, black and white, under the same rate, and draft people, black and white, equally, to fight our wars and serve in our armed services, it's a rather basic kind of thing, it seems to me, in America, that everybody ought to be able to live wherever they want to in this great country.

Just this past February I received a call from a citizen in the northern part of my state, a rather enlightened city, settled from the north. Here comes back a black man from Vietnam again, an Air Force major, back to that city. His infant son dies of brain fever and cannot be buried in the local cemetery.

Now, it's just too late, it's just too late for that in America. We've studied Negroes to death.

Now what we have to do is study white people.

And it's a rather deep and dark kind of thing with us, too. And it starts rather early. We had available to us some studies made with little second grade white kids, in affluent surburban schools, who were shown some pictures and asked to comment on them. One was a picture of two bedraggled, dirty, ragged, obviously poor little white girls. Another was a picture of two neat, well-dressed, obviously affluent little Negro girls. And these little second grade white kids were asked, "Whose party would you rather go to?" And they all chose to go to the party of the two bedraggled, dirty, ragged, obviously poor little white girls and gave such reasons as, "I like to go to parties where there are good things to eat, where you get cake and ice cream, and where they give you good things, like balloons, and so forth."

Another picture, I think, marks more terrible import for us, is a picture of a little Negro boy and a little white boy walking down the sidewalk with their arms around each other, obviously friends, no way to miss that. Then the picture was taken away and they were asked to comment.

These little second grade white kids saw conflict in the picture. An alarming percentage of them saw violence in the picture. One little boy was typical who said, "The Negro boy has just beaten up the white boy and is dragging him down the sidewalk."

An alarming number of those little second grade white kids saw a knife in the picture in the hands of the black boy. These are the kinds of things we have to look at in ourselves. And I say to you that racism is the number one mental health problem in America.

I think it cripples far more little children than schizophrenia, cripples far more little children than mental retardation, and I am speaking not only of the victims of it, but those who are taught it as well.

Now we made some recommendations about how to change behavior; about open-housing and about the Government having the right of cease and desist orders, to stop contracts when pledges of employment of minorities are not really performed. Those kinds of ways that behavior can and must be changed in this country, and urgently.

I think more than that, you and I must help establish a new national etiquette in this country; a new kind of national mores, not just against discrimination, not just for the sterile term of tolerance, but for acceptance of difference. That's what America is about. That old melting-pot business was always a myth.

People are not going to be the same. We have got to get away from this business of saying we are either going to keep American Indians as quaint, curious tourist attractions or make them all over into middle-class white people. They don't have to change. Negroes don't have to chcange. Negroes are going to continue to be black in America. But that's what we have got to get ready for. The right to be different. That's what this country is all about. That's the American dream; the right of everybody to be different, if they want to be. To look different, talk different, to worship differently, if they desire. That's what you and I have got to help this country see and to help our children see it, and to help our friends see it as well.

Well, we talked about racism. We talked about a couple of other things. We talked about powerlessness. I think whoever we are, whether we are black or white, young or old, rich or poor, whether we live in the suburbs, whether we live in the inner city, or rural area, all of us today feel that things have just gotten so huge and impersonal that we don't really have any control over our own lives, over the decisions which govern our own lives. We just feel that not enough account is taken of the individual.

A lot of that we didn't intend. It is just sort of a side effect from a lot of other things, a lot of them good, that we have done in this country. But we have got to now understand that we have got to move more to make the individual interest count; allow the individual to be involved and to participate in the decisions which are important to him. I think this feeling of powerlessness is much worse if you are poor. I think if you are young, it is much worse. If you are young and poor, it's much worse still, and if you are young and poor and black, it's virtually overwhelming.

I think we have got to talk about poverty, and that's what we talked about in the Riots Commission. We got all these things sort of interacted and let me say we came down hard against lawlessness and violence and we made clear that violence and looting and rioting are not acceptable forms of social protest. We came down hard against the unconscionable and intolerable rhetoric of violence and agitation for violence, which help to create the climate within which violence would occur.

We made clear also that just a little more law enforcement, or a little better law enforcement, goodness knows we need it, will not of itself take care of these problems, we have got to get at their underlying causes and we talked, then, as I said about racism and about powerlessness, and about poverty, all of which interact with each other and make each other even more difficult and more complex.

We have to think of poverty as really what it is, poverty by definition, means lack of income. Now you would think that we all knew that; but somehow the notion persists in America that if we just give the poor enough advice they will quit being poor.

Well, that's just not working, in this technological and urbanized society for a large number of Americans. I think we have to go past the traditional kinds of Civil Rights; the right to eat and lodge and live and work where you want to. I think we have to say, for example, that there are other kinds of very basic rights in America. And I think one is the right to a job. I think that's a basic right. We have been saying that since 1946 with the Employment Act.

We have said that every American has a right to a job; but it has just been rhetoric. Now we have to make it real and that's why we on the Riots Commission have recommended some rather massively increased public and private programs for increased employment for those who are poor and those who are black and other minorities in America. I think that any society which calls itself civilized and tolerates unemployment for those who want to work, is just not quite living up to what it calls itself.

I think there is a basic right in America to good health. I don't think that is a matter of charity. I think it is a scandal that in America, the richest and most knowledgeable, medically-knowledgeable country in the world, we have an abominably high infant mortality rate. In the last year, Japan went above us—the richest country in the world. Infant mortality is a euphemism; it means a child is dead. We have to understand that people are dying two blocks away from some of the finest equipped and staffed hospitals that exist anywhere in America because they are poor.

I think a person in America—every child in America—has a right to a decent education. Now, all over America, in areas where poor people live, whether it is in the rural areas of Oklahoma, or whether it is in the black ghettos of America, we just as systematically as if I asked you to vote and you all stood and voted unanimously that this is what you intend, just as systematically as if we intended it, we are destroying children. We are turning out children who do not have a chance; who do not have a chance in our society.

Take the black child in the ghetto. Frequently, he starts out in school coming from a background of poor nutrition, bad health, which already has handicapped him. From a mentally unchallenging kind of environment, he starts already behind, already handicapped, and then just as consistently as can be, we spend on that little black child with special problems, a hundred dollars to five hundred dollars less per child than we spend on the white child, like mine, out in the affluent suburbs, who has a good deal less problem when he starts. Just as uniformly as if we meant to do it, we give him the worse pupil-teacher ratio, the most inferior equipment and facilities. We give him books that talk about Dick and Jane, some white kids that live off out there someplace in some tree-lined suburb, with whom he can't relate at all, and seem to have nothing to do with his own life, and then we are terribly surprised when, starting with his intelligence test score in the first grade, or whatever, the score goes down, down, down, down, and then we say, "Why don't you pull yourself up by your bootstraps?"

Now, that's the kind of thing we have to look at . . .

. . . There were some who said to us, "You are too visionary. You are too impractical with these things you said, and the Riots Commission report, but we had before us the charge that President Johnson gave us, and that was, "Let your search be free", he said, "As best you can, find the truth and express it in your report."

He didn't say, "Find the truth and express as much of it as you think the House Appropriations Committee will approve." He didn't say, "Find the truth and express as much as you dare, as you think will be popular." He said, "Find the truth and express it." And that's what we decided that we would do. We had on our minds, and we even said it to ourselves two or three times, some words that Abraham Lincoln said, which were, "In times like the present, no man should utter anything for which he would not willingly be responsible through all time and eternity." And we decided that we didn't want to be liable to your questions ten or fifteen years from now, "Why didn't you tell us how tough it was?"

And so we decided, as he said, to "Tell it like it is." And then, if America decided not to do it, why at least it couldn't any longer be an unconscious choice, it would have to be a conscious choice. And if America decided it didn't want to do these things, why at least it wouldn't be on our conscience. And so that's the way we laid it out. And I think that's the kind of choice which does face America. I think that our country is in the midst of the greatest domestic crisis we have had or faced at least since the days of the Civil War.

I think you and I must spread that kind of awareness. I think any solutions are going to sound nutty to people who don't think we have problems. I think if we commence to understand the problems, then you and I are going to be alarmed enough and compassionate enough, to try to do something about them in this country. I think America teeters on the balance between the chaos of anarchy or a far more repressive society than you and I ever imagined America might become.

I don't think we have to choose just between those. I think between those two choices, anarchy or repression, we will move toward repression, because we don't allow anarchy in this country, nor should we. But I think there is a far more humane alternative, and that's the alternative which we recommended, and that is, just make America become what we say it is. That's all. Just make equality of social and political and economic opportunity real for all Americans immediately.

Now, I have talked about some rather alarming and depressing things, and I think we have got to talk that way to each other. I think there is great hope in America. I think there is hope in that we have already commenced to move in the direction that we now must go with a great deal more urgency and immediacy. Your own meeting here, and this organization, I think, is a great proof of that, I think there is hope, too, in the fact that the genius of the American system has always been its ability to adapt to change when we know we must, we do. And Americans will know they must sooner or later. I hope it is sooner and I think you and I can help make it sooner if we do our job.

I think there is great hope in the fact, too, that there have always been deep reservoirs of goodness in American people, a real current of idealism, which has always run through our people and through the history of our people and of our country.

I think that's going on in America, too. I think that in addition to this feeling of powerlessness, all of us, rich, poor, black, white, all of us, every now and then must stop and say, "What am I really doing with my life?" "Where's the value and worth in what I am and in what I do?" "Where is the sense of purpose and direction, in my own life and in society, itself?"

I think there is a yearning and an anxious kind of searching for worth and value and meaning in our own lives. I think we see that especially in a lot that is going on in America among young people, and I think that that is potentially the most destructive force that exists in any society; the kind of social behavior. All sorts of things, I think, result from our inability to build upon that really greatest of all forces, that could exist in society, and that is that force toward idealism.

I think that how to tap that is really very close at hand. I don't think we have to look very far. I used to serve on the Salvation Army Board down at Lawton and at Christmas time I recall that I stood in a booth there and rang the bell, you know, soliciting for gifts at Christmas time and read into the microphone some things they wrote out for us, and one thing, I recall, was: "You may not be able to bring joy and happiness to the whole world; but you can help someone near you."

If it is true, as Camus said, that this is a society which believes in torturing children, the least each of us can do is make life better for one child, for some child. I think that's the kind of challenge that we have, and I think that American people are compassionate and decent people. I think that more and more of them will come to see the horrible condition in which many of their fellow Americans live in our urbanized and technological society, the horrible conditions in which many Americans are trapped, and that more and more will want to do something about it.

Lastly, I think there is hope. In Negro attitudes, just this last Christmas, Christmas 1967, Louis Harris, the noted national pollster, released the results of a survey on that day, a day when we are thinking about brotherhood—surveys made among black people and white people in America, and he asked this question, "Do you believe that brotherhood and brotherly love and harmony between the races is possible in America?"

51 percent of the white people said no. 10 percent additional of the white people said they didn't know. But 67 percent of the Negroes said yes. Still said yes.

I think there is a great deal of challenge in that for white people and I think there is a lot of hope in that for America. Well, I don't think we ought to fool ourselves now and just have some kind of a massive catharsis here and say, "Yes, it's that old white racism and I sure am ashamed about that", and go on home from this conference and say, "Well, we got everything all fixed up."

We must not confuse conferring, with action, you know. What we have got to do is leave here prepared to act. And here is the power in America, right in this room. There never was a time that one person could have as much lasting effect on his world as right now. As much lasting effect, to be of as valuable service to other people, as it can right now.

So I am honored to be here with people who are concerned and who want to act, and I think if we leave here with that kind of resolve, then it might well be said of us, the words Shakespeare put in the mouth of King Henry V, you remember, on the morning of the St. Crispin's Day battle. A man came to King Henry and said, "Oh, that we now had here but one ten thousand of those men in England who do no work today."

And you recall, King Henry disagreed. He said, "There would be no challenge in overwhelming numbers." And then he said, "This story shall the good man teach his son: And Crispin Crispian shall ne're go by from this day until the ending of the world, but we in it shall be remembered. We few, we happy few, we band of brothers. And gentlemen in England now abed shall think themselves acursed they were'nt here and hold their manhood cheap whiles any speaks that fought with us upon St. Crispin's Day."

SPEECH OF DR. ZELMA GEORGE

Conference of Women in the War on Poverty

I don't need to waste any time after this very important conference, in which we've had so much meaningful participation by so many. I don't need to waste time to remind you that we are approaching fast the most hazardous juncture in the history of the world. Decisions are being made and will have to be made for which no past experience prepares us. We've had all kinds of descriptions of revolutions that are taking place.

I want to mention two, because I think the two major trends are likely to continue for at least another thirty years. One of them is that the population will continue to grow. We've heard about that, we've talked about it; we know its implications. And the other has to do with technology, which I think will continue to be a major source of change in the affairs of men. What will life be like when this world is shared by seven billion people? Undoubtedly there will be a great deal of self-constraint needed to tolerate the mutual intrusions of the people of the world.

There will be a need to respect the differences of custom and opinion that will exist among us, to value the individuals when there are so many individuals. People will have to be very civilized to get along together, and that requirement alone raises a host of other questions about which we've been talking.

We have to ask ourselves, Is man capable, is he really capable of organizing a big civilization? Or will he find himself reverting to his tribal society, or his nationalistic society, whichever term you want to use. Are we going to poison ourselves with pollutants? Will we be afflicted by a debilitative disease? Will we starve out millions, kill one another, commit genocide? Are we capable of so ordering our society that we can avert these possibilities? At this point it had been my intention to talk a little bit theoretically, maybe, about really how small this world is. And how close we really are getting together and how important these things I've just said are already; because we are right in the middle of a world community, living in it very imperfectly. We don't have the institutions that we need for world community; we don't even have an ideology that is fit for a world community.

But we are living in it. And it's important for us to realize some of the things that maybe we haven't been conscious of as we go about in our relationships with one another.

I'd like to say a word or two about some of the words in our vocabulary, which I think we are going to have to re-examine if we're going to do the things we set out to do when we leave here. I wish it were possible for us to take some of the words we've had to use every moment out of our vocabulary. I think the time certainly has come when we're going to have to take teams of scholars and have them hunt for the right words, because they're tools. They can kill people because they are ideas.

Dictionaries carry definitions, but people carry connotations in their minds. And when we use a word, we are saying something about ourselves and about our concept of the other fellow and of our interrelationship. And there are some words that we've been using here—I don't have the solution to it, but certainly we ought to be able to find some teams of minds that can work—just as they work on what's wrong with a missile when it doesn't go up, or a rocket when it doesn't go up. And they work on it until they find what's wrong, and then they do something about it. If we could find some word less offensive, less demeaning.

Now, I'm going to very frankly use a word that makes me shiver every time I hear it because I know what it does to the young people. That's the word "poverty." There is the word "disadvantaged," "deprived"—I don't like to talk to audiences when my girls are there because I have to use these words, and we don't use them in the Job Corps Center. But we talk about these people as "disadvantaged," as "drop-outs," all negatives, every single one of them. When we get an admission card, there isn't a positive word on there, because you couldn't send it if you could find one.

The whole thinking of Congress is, they'll give the money if you can make it bad enough.

Well, what am I and what is my staff going to do with a lot of negatives? You can't even get your hands on them. We've got to talk about unused potential and undiscovered resources, or we've got to find some other way to make this young person feel that she is somebody, that she does have some qualifications that you can work on. Because we have a tendency to throw them all in the same chute, as if poverty was a common denominator and there was just one category for them.

You know how many different categories we have for middle class. Well, there are just as many for poverty, or more.

And yet we think they're all alike. If one of them happens to come from a home where she might not have been given the kind of training that we call ethical and moral and her standards are not ours, then of course they're wrong. And if we happen to know one girl from Job Corps like that then all in the Job Corps are like that, and they resent it. And I resent it with them.

They are the "them" when you are the "we," and they know it. They are the "they," and they know exactly who you're talking about.

Now, there are many kinds of things we need to think about that go along with this same thinking. When we talk about a drop-out, we're putting too much responsibility on that girl for not having stayed in school when she might have been pushed out—pushed out by you and by me when we failed to work hard enough for that school bond issue that would have given the superintendent enough money to hire enough teachers to give to that girl the special attention she needed.

Last night Vice-President Humphrey talked about the "left-outs," and that's what many people we call "disadvantaged" are today—and they are disadvantaged; there's no getting around that. That's why they are, because they've been left out.

Well, people have said, "Well, I never did do anything against them." It's like being good for nothing, you know.

And there are a lot of people who are good for nothing—and there are people who mistreat young people by not doing what they're supposed to do, not because they committed anything, but by sins of omission. Even the Bible talks about it. And just leaving them out of the history, just passing by them as if they didn't exist can do more damage to them than if you beat them with a stick.

This is what Negroes are talking about when they talk about police brutality. Without ever touching them, just by "Boy," or "Hey, what are you doing on the street this time of night," or even questioning his right to be there. There are plenty of people who need to be questioned, but not all Negroes need to be questioned.

I tell the story that I was graduated from the University of Chicago, and my first job—I was caseworker there—was in Family Service. And there were two institutions in Chicago at that time without which we couldn't have operated. They were very good institutions; they had a lot of money, well-endowed, and they had good staffs and good services, but I hated to take anybody to either one of them—just because of the name. One was called the "Home for the Friendless."

Friendless people need a home. But you don't put it in great big wrought-iron letters over the door, but that's the way it was when I was there. You know how long ago it was when I was there.

The other one was the "Home for the Incurables."

Now, if you're going to be incurable, who wants to be reminded of it every time you're going out of the door?

It sounds like another century. It happens not to have been. But the term "poverty" is just as bad today the way we use it. In my town, in order to be on the Board to decide how to dispense the money, you've got to stand up downtown and swear, "I'm in poverty," to to get on the poverty ticket. Can you think of anything more like another century that that?

You want to know what you can do? Go home and pick up some terms that will say what you mean. And some of you who have great minds can really make a contribution to our society. You can find us a way to get around some of these terms. And I'm going to use one more, not because it's directly related to this, but because I think it better than anything else indicates what I'm talking about. That's the term "American."

We talk about the American flag. It was right in this town at the Pan American Union a few years ago that I learned that lesson the hard way on a panel, when I kept talking about the American flag and the American creed. And the Ambassador from Peru said to me, "Dr. George, you ought to be able to find a word that can say what you want, because I've got a flag and it's American, and you're not talking about my flag. You're not talking about any of Latin America's flags, not even non-Latin America—Canada. You're talking about the United States, and you just stay off of that word because it belongs to me too."

But we can hardly talk without talking about America, and we know we mean the United States; and we know everybody who hears us knows that we are so egotistic that's all we mean. We couldn't mean anything but us. Don't think this doesn't communicate.

And the same way that communicates to the Latin Americans and to the other peoples of the world, these things we're talking about—what's in the newspapers, the kinds of things that get attention, we're constantly fighting a battle of defense, trying to defend these young people instead of setting up a good image. And this is what you can do—go and meet these girls, have them in your home. You'll find they do the same things your daughters do.

And it's just like the difference between the words "subsidy" and "welfare." It's subsidy when you're rich, and it's welfare when you're poor. Multimillionaires get subsidized, and it comes from the same treasury and gets in there the same way; but the minute you get poor they call it welfare. And we've got to do something about this.

We talk about morality and immorality, and poor people don't have any morals. And these poor girls have got to go out there and be abnormal, going around to prove to somebody that they are.

Well, I am encouraged every now and then by something, and I picked up the *Time* Magazine yesterday and I saw this. "If these kids don't make it, neither will we."

Let's write to IT&T Telephone Company and tell them what a wonderful ad this is. All races sitting around there. "If these kids don't make it, neither will we."

They may not change the world—that's what they said about Peace Corps—but the world will never be the same because of them. I believe in them, and you must believe in them.

Robert Frost in an interview not long before he died quoted from four of his unpublished poems and he said two of his favorite lines were from one of these poems. And the first two lines were: "The founding fathers didn't believe in the future—They believed it in.": "The founding fathers didn't believe in the future—They believed it in"—believed it into being. And we believe ourselves into being. We believe our children into being. We believe our marriages into being. The most creative thing in us is to believe a thing in. And we are going to believe the world we want in. But we're going to have to be it too.

Now, we've heard a lot about Dr. Martin Luther King's dream, and it was something to remember. All of us will remember it, I'm sure, for a long, long time and be inspired by it: "I dream of the time when my children will be measured not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character," among other things, he said.

But let me quote from a poem and end here, by Langston Hughes, fully 25 years before this day. He says:

"What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up like a raisin
in the sun,
Or fester like a sore and then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat,
Or crust and sugar over like
a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it sags like a heavy load,
Or does it explode?"

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE PATRICIA QUEENAN SHEEHAN
MAYOR, CITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

This conference is dedicated to setting priorities in our quest to provide a better life for each of our citizens. I have no magic formula for Utopia, I know a little something about many of your programs because I see them work; nor do I suggest that one exists. However I would like to share with you for a few moments the experience of one woman who has sat in the Mayor's Chair now for one year. Perhaps this can add to the knowledge you have gained at this Conference—our situations are similar I am sure—I hope you can relate my needs to those which exist in your own towns.

At the outset I can tell you that I think we all have a tendency to underrate the strength of "woman power." In particular, by sitting back and refusing to play an active *political* role, we have, by our own choice, lost control of the very events which most shape our lives, and the future of our children. We have let go, by default that role which is the most influential, in a democratic society. I don't mean this as a rallying cry of the feminist but more as a plea for the exercise of civic responsibility — not limiting civic to charitable or social but expanding the emphasis on civic as *citizen.*

We put our trust in the will of the majority as the American Way and then neglect to take a stand and be counted. This must stop, this is something each of us must do to preserve our heritage and to insure our influence.

Each vote counts and each must vote. Politics is not just a man's game, it is not a dirty game, it is the science of government, it is the human factor that links the individual and the business that is government. It is responsive to the people *only to the extent* that the people participate. Women have not fully lived up to this responsibility. You and I and our friends and neighbors ard particularly our organizations can all do much more. Politicking is important and honorable—how else can the voter get the information needed to make a reasoned choice?

To get on to our purpose, let me tell you something of New Brunswick—one city out of the 18,000 in our nation, 5½ sq. miles in size, 43.000 population. The problems I think you can imagine—lack of housing, unemplovment, education, increasing migration (middle class, primarily white, out—poor, primarily Negro and Puerto Rican in) inadequate parking, decline of the commercial area, as family-run stores are allowed to die out, road patterns that date from colonial times, obsolete equipment ranging from heavy duty public works to the modern necessities for law enforcement, insufficient or antiquated fire stations, a vintage sewer system, continually diminishing tax base aggravated by having about one-third of our land area tax exempt, a Public Library that remains a monument to Andrew Carnegie—untouched by the modern era.

Sounds pretty bleak, doesn't it? Perhaps you think a bomb would be about the perfect solution, but let me explain to you that this common urban crisis, such as we face in New Brunswick, is not without hope. The challenges we face today cannot be the stumbling blocks on a road to ruin—rather they must become the stepping stones to greater progress and accomplishment that we have yet seen in our nation. New Brunswick has pride in its illustrious past and hope for a future that is great. But it takes work!

Sounds pretty naive in a day where our moral decay, the breakdown of law and order, crime in streets, polarization of a white versus a black society, the age of dissent are the common topics of conversation? Well, it is just one year ago that the New Five, as we called ourselves, swept into office in New Brunswick. We are living with and struggling with this "urban" dilemma but we have found much that leads us to hope. We have every reason to believe that American ingenuity, that our heritage of trust in our fellows, that our efforts, and those of so many others, are not misplaced.

You *can* beat City Hall, the individual *does* count and Americans working together *can* solve our problems. You know that from your own programs—things can be done! The "establishment" of itself is not necessarily bad!

Recently I attended a High School Key Club Dinner. Their theme was — "Understanding Through Involvement," I suggest to you that that is the theme of New Brunswick today. In one short year, we have seen the formation of three active citizens' groups, a representative cross section of individuals who *care* about our town and are willing to devote *time* and *effort* to making it a better place to live for everyone.

One of our campaign issues was "communication." Our claim: City Hall had isolated and insulated itself from the public over the long years of entrenchment. Subsequent events proved this analysis appropriate. Establishing lines of communications, making the residents feel *our intent* is to represent them *all* fairly, has been one of our most difficult tasks. It is a two-way street. Municipal officials are not necessarily unaware of problems just because there's been no action. Often you will find we are most deeply aware and more involved than perhaps a vocal group complaining. Involvement by people leads not only to understanding this kind of situation, but also opens the door to cooperative effort. We don't *always* need help identifying our problems; we *do* desperately need help in determining solutions. The glib answer, the sweeping plan, doesn't address it-

Mayor Sheehan

Delegates pay a visit to Resurrection City.

self to the immediate first step! We can't wait for the one great master solution.

We can't throw away what we have and start over. We must deal with reality.

Municipal government is the front line in action and the horrendous box we find ourselves in must be acted upon by the people, all the people, if any real changes are to take place, not by violence but by constructive action. We share a common goal and as long as some of our fellows are denied the rights, privileges and responsibilities we assume naturally, we all are diminished to that extent. Racism is not always malicious. Sometimes its most insidious characteristic is the fact it is unconscious.

I am very proud of the citizens of New Brunswick and what they have done; because they were *asked* to get involved.

Just after taking office (before we really had ourselves settled in our responsibilities) we found ourselves on the brink of an extreme crisis. We got through that crisis, as you know, due to the efforts of our people. We were able to admit to the problems and say we'd try to work toward solutions. Thanks for this time go to so many: our residents of both races, who worked so hard to prevent violence; our police and those of neighboring communities who were so dedicated under extreme circumstances for which they were unprepared and ill-equipped; our clergymen, particularly the Negroes who rode with the police, and OEO whose workers walked the streets — the list is truly endless—and so order and reason prevailed and we were able to get on to delivering the goods on our May election pledges—still one community!

Recreation was the immediate problem—we had already arranged the use of the University Pool for our parks program — 500 kids per week. Now the business community stepped in to implement a program of neighborhood pools (we'd had the idea but not the money!) The private sector has a big stake in the community and must be more and more involved—they're often willing but go unasked—we didn't intend to let that happen.

The Poverty Unit expanded its summer program through a federal grant that provided both program and jobs in cooperation with the city.

Vice President Humphrey spoke of National Guard facilities and that was the impetus needed for us to arrange to lease the vacant Armory which is now our Community Center—our only meeting facility in addition to City Hall. The Vice President, himself came to dedicate the center! Can you imagine what a boost to the spirit of a town?

These steps were real and immediate but not so far reaching as the goals in employment and housing. Bricks and mortar and training take more time.

Employment is critical and industry involvement—our free enterprise system—is the Key. I am not a source of jobs, Employers must be, and so came into being our PROJECT ACTION—long term, real commitment for meaningful employment to disadvantaged citizens of the area by the area employers and social agencies; a whole program. Housing is perhaps the most difficult for us. Much of it is old, having been without a continuous program of code enforcement, we now find much of it in poor condition with overcrowding an added complication.

We do have an Urban Renewal Project—originated about ten years ago, slated to start now, with a relocation staff just hired. These move very slowly. The level of expectation for results is high and frustration on all sides is the natural result! However, we find a willingness to work, an awareness of the situation that is perhaps new on the part of individuals who were not involved before. We have just recently applied for a Model Cities Planning Grant. I can't believe that so much commitment can be without a successful result.

These problems, and they are severe in housing and employment, cannot be solved by a single municipality—particularly one in New Jersey where the real estate tax is the main source of revenue.

Our Governor has taken significant steps in recognition of our needs. Last year the Department of Community Affairs was established, charged with providing significant assistance in terms of staff and money to aid municipalities in carrying our programs to meet their needs. This dedication to urban problems was new. The heart of the matter is money, and municipalities, particularly our older core cities, cannot bear the primary responsibility for financing programs of national dimension. I come now particularly to education and welfare. You are all familiar with the many studies and recommendations, in this area.

I am sure there were many discussed at this conference. For one, I would suggest the need is urgent—*welfare*. We cannot penalize those willing to work, we cannot promote the breakup of family unit as a condition to help. It is destructive rather than constructive. In terms of cost, I would suggest immdiate relief of financial responsibility by the local unit and ultimate revision nationally along the lines of a negative income tax or a supplemental income substitution. Our Legislature is currently considering stop-gap financial relief for municipalities as proposed by the Governor, but we can't expect help unless everyone cooperates. All communities must be willing to bear a fair share, just as all states must; that takes people power. Education—if employment is the key o the present, education is the key to our future. No one would deny our most important resource is our youth. We cannot do without the total talent they have to offer. Yet again the core cities have special needs and extra expenses with the least ability to pay. Our states have not played an equilizing role. Traditionally the suburbs receive the greater amounts of aid while the cities struggle with the soaring costs—it is our greatest expense. How can we provide quality education, trained staff and still live with the costs of providing the normally expected municipal services?

I say to you now that as the Mayor of one city—where about one-third of our land is exempt from taxation; where our daytime population is three times our resident population with the usual "social overhead" this entails; where we are expected to provide more and better services with less money; where we gradually will be confiscating the homes of our older residents—*we must have help.*

Involvement clearly is the Key—we cannot exist in a society that does not have law and order. But neither can we exist in a society which does not face reality. For to quote our Governor Hughes ". . . all of us are bound together in a body politic in which weakness or disease in one part inevitably spreads to the whole." Analyzing the problem, placing the blame, escaping to the hills are all an exercise in futility now. We know the problem. We have plans by the ton, charts and graphs by the bushel. What we need now are the resources to do the job. Each small step forward is an achievement on which we can build giant strides of accomplishment. Even small steps forward are more meaningful than talk—you've heard the theme "make life better for one child." The residents of New Brunswick have already shown they are shouldering more than their share; consider the high tax rate, consider their willingness to give of their time and effort. But it is not solely our burden. Each of you lives in or near a New Brunswick. Each of you must help. You heard the Vice President last night. He couldn't have stated it more clearly.

Action and hard work on all fronts—from the halls of Congress to the state Legislatures, right down to your block, in your town—that is the order of business! All Americans want the same things for themselves and their children—all must have equal opportunity to achieve them.

Workshop

WORKSHOP REPORTS

Introduction—by Dr. Ann Hallman Pettigrew, Chairman on Workshops

In the Report of the Commission on Civil Disorders, we heard in no uncertain terms that we are not "one Nation, indivisible," but we are a nation divided, by racism and by poverty. We do not have "liberty and justice for all." We heard about the broad national problems that we face and the urgency of the crisis that we face today in our nation.

Through the workshops we thought to narrow down the focus just a little bit, down to specific topic areas of special interest and special significance. I think from talking to the workshop leaders and reporters that there are two rather broad general themes coming out of the workshops and out of the conference too. They are certainly parallel, but quite different.

One is that we need broad structural and institutional changes before we can effect any really great change in poverty and racism in the United States. By this I mean we need exchanges in our welfare systems, we need changes in laws, we need changes in employment practices; and women individually and in groups can help effect these changes by trying to alter every institution that we come in contact with. By "institution" I mean your own school system at home, the shops that you buy from. You can refuse to buy if you feel that these shops are discriminatory or not helping in the ways that they can in terms of fighting poverty.

These are the institutional changes which must come about if we are going to do anything on a broad scale.

On the other hand, and parallel with this, are the changes in the relationships between human beings. We need to have both individual and collective efforts to return to humanity instead of the inhumanity that we've been practicing for some time. In this area I think women have particular sensitivity and particular expertise.

WORKSHOP ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LEADERS

Mrs. Marie Salinas
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Miss Evelyn Harrison
Assistant to Chairman
U. S. Civil Service Commission

REPORTERS

Miss Velma Linford
OEO, VISTA

Miss Doris Smith
OEO—Office of Civil Rights

OEO RESOURCE

Miss Josephine Nieves
Acting Regional Director
OEO Northeast Regional Office

Mr. Fleming Matthews
OEO—Job Corps

SPECIALISTS

Mr. Bertram Levine
Department of Justice
Assistant Director for Community Action

Mr. James Madison
Associate Director, Community Relations Service
Department of Justice

PROGRAM RECIPIENTS

Washington residents referred by the
United Planning Organization

SUMMARY REPORT

Critical Issues: How does the governmental structure in your community relate to the poor? Is it responsive to their needs?

What are the laws that directly affect the poor—in housing, education, employment, consumer protection, welfare, and health? Do these laws protect the poor or abuse them?

What is the actual situation of law enforcement within your community? Is there a program for community relations, for promoting understanding of basic human rights, for the rehabilitation of law breakers?

What Women Can Do: Read and study the Riot Report and its implications in your community.

Women, both as individuals and through group and inter-group action, must work through local politics to improve the power structure in their community, must work with all segments of the community to promote better public attitudes on human relations.

Women must provide the impetus for legislative forms. Women must learn to live with conflict in working to change conditions, and must be willing to tax themselves financially, emotionally and physically.

Learn to work with all segments of your society, regardless of race, or economic status.

Begin to eradicate the differences which make poverty possible by drawing the poor into planning, into decision making, into the visible life of your community.

WORKSHOP ON EDUCATION

LEADER

Mrs. Elizabeth Koontz
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Mrs. Jeanne Graham
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

REPORTER

Miss Rossie Drummond
OEO—Head Start

Mrs. Janet Talliferro

OEO RESOURCE

Mrs. Irene Patai
OEO—Job Corps

Mr. William Darnell
OEO—Job Corps

SPECIALISTS

Miss Margaret Louria
Office of Education

Miss Pauline Winnick
Office of Education

PROGRAM RECIPIENTS

Upward Bound Students

SUMMARY REPORT

Critical Issues: The whole structure of teacher education should come under scrutiny because modification and changes are necessary in curriculum and teacher preparation to bring systems of learning into relationship with the problems of the poor. Teaching today is geared toward training children for college, with no concept of what the children of poverty are like. New techniques, new materials, new approaches to learning are necessary to meet the problems of the poor.

Inflexible rules, standards and practices stand in the way of effective educational practices, for example, rulings that prohibit pre-school teachers from working for more than half a day.

Communities do not make full use of their resources, equipment, facilities and human talent in administering to educational needs.

Legislation often blocks the effective use of funds for education.

What Women Can Do: Volunteer agencies can offer opportunities to the poor at every educational level; but particularly at the preschool level.

Bring pressure to bear on legislative problems which prohibit or inhibit the effective use of funds.

Bring pressure to bear on school systems and administrative practices which are inflexible or outmoded, or which do not fit the total needs of the school population.

Bring pressure to bear for teacher training to stress language communication with the poor —bilingual or dialectic English—basic to success in learning processes.

Make person-to-person contacts with the poor in their own environs, rather than inviting them to come to alien surroundings for educational services — neighborhood tutoring services, neighborhood libraries, store-front meeting places, rather than in schools.

WORKSHOP ON WELFARE

LEADER

Mrs. Ruth Atkins
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Mrs. Amalia V. Betanzos
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

REPORTER

Mrs. Joan Cooper
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Mrs. Bessie Draper
OEO—Head Start

OEO RESOURCE

Mr. Leveo Sanchez
Regional Director
OEO Mid-Atlantic Region

Mr. Walter H. Richter
Regional Director
OEO Southwest Region

SPECIALISTS

Mr. Jule Sugarman
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

*Dr. Charles Hawkins
Social Security Administration

*Miss Elizabeth G. Sanders
Social Security

*Mr. James E. Crum
Social Security

PROGRAM RECIPIENTS

Head Start Parents

SUMMARY REPORT

Critical Issues: The welfare system does not work; it is archaic, costly and inefficient.

It covers only about eight million of the thirty million Americans living below the poverty level established by the Federal Government. It operates inefficiently under a hodgepodge of fifty separate programs with each state determining its own level of payments, each working out its own regulations and eligibility standards, each deciding whether or not to accept Federal funds available for public assistance. Twenty-two states do not accept all Federal funds available to them.

Public opinion has been built on the premise that welfare recipients are "loafers" who won't work. This is given the lie by statistics which show that of the eight million on welfare, the majority are either too young, too old, too sick or too disabled to be self-supporting. More than two million are over 65; more than 700,000 are totally blind or disabled; almost four million are children whose parents cannot support them; about 1.1 million are their mothers, about 100,000 are their physically or mentally incapacitated fathers; only about 60,000 are able-bodied men.

Present welfare rules and regulations, as adopted by the individual states, are degrading and humiliating.

"Disincentives" are an integral part of the system. They discourage people who want to work from doing so, and deprive children of the motivation to break away from a recurring cycle of poverty by imposing a dollar welfare penalty for each dollar earned, thus assuring that recipients cannot pull themselves up from the poverty level.

What Women Can Do: A changed public attitude is essential if legislative reform is to take place. Put an end to the misrepresentation to the public of the true facts about welfare. Put an end to the myths perpetrated by the press about welfare recipients.

Work for an immediate and drastically reformed welfare system, and a standardized system of payments for all citizens. Start with your own state, and work with welfare rights groups, with Head Start parents, with churches and with your local government. Use your power to bring about changes.

WORKSHOP ON HOUSING

LEADER

Mrs. Lucy Benson
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Mrs. Rosemary Kilch
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

REPORTER

Miss Mary Jane Christgau
Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Mrs. Mary Shands
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

OEO RESOURCE

Mr. Mike Mazer
OEO—Mid-Atlantic Office

Mr. Sandford Walker
OEO—Mid-Atlantic Office

SPECIALISTS

Mrs. Laura L. Spencer
Department of Housing & Urban Development

Mr. Arthur Rosfeld
Department of Housing and Urban Development

PROGRAM RECIPIENTS

National Capital Housing Project Residents

SUMMARY REPORT

Critical Issues: Deficiencies in present housing programs and planning were identified as follows:

There are no provisions in housing programs for the extremely poor—those whose annual income is $1,000 or less.

Provision should be made for people displaced from their neighborhoods by new housing projects. They should be included in plans for renewal at the outset and should have first chance at occupancy.

Screening processes for housing applicants are often intimidating and intrusive—they should be reviewed and revised.

Housing for older citizens is insufficient and often unsuitable. In many instances remodeling or modernizing older housing would meet the requirements of senior citizens better, since they prefer to remain in familiar surroundings.

Housing programs should provide for training of tenants in upkeep and management of property, with the goal of preparing them to enforce maintenance standards.

Turnkey housing should be encouraged.

More flexible financing is needed in order to ensure that housing meets the needs and preferences of tenants.

What Women Can Do: Get acquainted with the housing needs and problems in your own community.

Get to know the local housing commission. Work with it to make it more effective—go to meetings, help in planning, make surveys of property and recommend property and "savable" houses to your commission.

Bring pressure to bear for necessary new housing codes and for zoning reforms.

Work for rent subsidies.

WORKSHOP ON HEALTH

LEADERS

Mrs. Elizabeth Harris
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Dr. Ann Pettigrew
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

REPORTER

Miss Carol Simons
OEO—Health Division

Miss Stephaney Keyser
OEO—Job Corps

OEO RESOURCE

Dr. Joseph English
OEO—Director, Health Division

Dr. Gary London
OEO—Health Division

SPECIALISTS

Dr. George Silver
Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare

Dr. Marian Hunter

PROGRAM RECIPIENT

Neighborhood Health Center Workers

SUMMARY REPORT

The Report on Civil Disorders limited itself to only four and a half pages on health. This is regrettable, since health is basic to the poverty problem.

Critical Issues: The first great problem is the absence of adequate health services and facilities for the poor. The location of facilities which do exist are poorly advertised, hard to reach, and conditions are frequently deplorable.

The second great problem is the enormous gap in understanding between the medical profession personnel and the poor, which is reflected in inflexible behavior toward the poor. discourtesy and a lack of compassion and empathy.

Third, is the general lack of "know how" on the part of the poor as to where to go, how to get there, and what sort of help is available to them.

Last, there is an urgent need for people who can translate and interpret to Spanish speaking patients and to those whose dialect English makes communication difficult with middle-class medical personnel.

On the positive side is the beginning use of paraprofessional training of people taken from the ranks of the poor and trained as paramedical aides. This plan has been found to work beautifully, and should be accelerated and expanded.

It must be realized, of course, that problems of health are infinitely more complicated than the above critique, because they are inter-related with all the other basic problems of poverty—poor housing, lack of sanitation, poor hygiene standards, poor nutrition, inadequate income, lack of education, lack of family planning.

What Women Can Do: There is a desperate need for intermediaries between the professional medical world and the poor—to interpret the availability of services and the needs of the poor, both human and medical. Women can bridge the gap in understanding between the sophisticated medical groups and members of the profession and the poor.

Provide volunteer services directly to the poor in reaching available health facilities and services.

Provide the impetus and the pressure within the community for a greatly expanded system of neighborhood health centers, if necessary through private funding. Enlist the support of mayors, local merchants, private individuals and groups, hospitals and schools for volunteer professional staffing, and for speeding the training of paramedical aides.

WORKSHOP ON EMPLOYMENT

LEADER

Mrs. Dorothy Height
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

Mrs. Edna Sinclair
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty

REPORTER

Mrs. Irene Mields
OEO—Office of Public Affairs

Miss Joan Larson
OEO—VISTA

OEO RESOURCE

Mrs. Hattie Jones
OEO—Woman's Job Corps Program

Sister Francetta Barberis
OEO—Job Corps

SPECIALIST

Mrs. Esther Peterson
Assistant Secretary of Labor

Dr. Zelma George
Director, Women's Job Corps Center
Cleveland, Ohio

Mrs. Mary Keyserling
Director, Women's Bureau
Department of Labor

PROGRAM RECIPIENTS

Job Corpsmen

SUMMARY REPORT

Critical Issues: There is a need for both long-range and immediate approaches to employment programs. A person's immediate need for a job must be filled, but without overlooking his chances for moving upward in his occupation.

Federal employment programs can operate effectively only at the local level, in meeting the needs of the community with respect to opportunities offered and jobs required.

Employment and training programs should help people realize their full potential and at the same time their limitations. Everyone does not have to be a college graduate, or to enter the professions in order to lead a satisfying and rewarding working life. In this, we can learn a lot from Europe, where services, "blue collar" occupations, and the artisan trades have honorable status. Here employment training programs can come into play, by changing public attitudes toward occupational statuses, and by training the total man—since attitude, aspiration and personality are important factors in moving upward in any occupation.

What Women Can Do: In order to help solve the Nation's employment problems, women must become knowledgeable about their own community's job opportunities as well as the job needs of the poor. Those whose husbands are in business or in industry can use this channel to persuade companies to reassess their hiring practices, to institute new training procedures and on-the-job counseling.

Women's organizations should coordinate or supplement existing program efforts, not duplicate.

Look into the employment situation to see if training and employment programs are geared to local needs, if they are adequate. If nothing is being done, take the initiative to see that programs are organized, with or without Federal funding.

OEO PROGRAM DIRECTORS' PRESENTATIONS

MR. WILLIAM KELLY, DIRECTOR, JOB CORPS

I think if we were to try and single out any one word that describes what the Job Corps is all about, that word would be "care," c-a-r-e. The Job Corps cares about its enrollees. But perhaps even more important than that, the enrollees in Job Corps programs have come to perceive that the Job Corps and their nation care about them.

As we sit here right at this moment there are nearly 500 young men working in the tornado-destroyed areas of Arkansas and Iowa and Oklahoma, and they responded to the call of the people in those stricken areas within twelve hours after the tornadoes had hit. And I think another significant thing that has happened is that people in small communities all across the country have perceived that the Job Corps cares, c-a-r-e-s, about them. So that they do not feel backward, they do not feel it untoward to ask the Job Corps—which has become part of the American scene, and so interwoven into the American scene—to come and help them at a time of need and at a time of disaster. That in my judgment is a great accomplishment.

Since we last met, the Job Corps has continued to do some extraordinary pioneering things. Last month at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, under the sponsorship of the Police Athletic League, an international organization of police officers, who have been devoting their time since 1937 to helping youngsters—at Camp Kilmer last month, 65 youngsters entered the first national police training academy. And they weren't youngsters from the middle class; they were youngsters from the ghettoes, and they were youngsters who were going to be trained to become police officers.

And more significant, perhaps, than that is the fact that there are 41 chiefs of police or police commissioners in 41 cities in the United States of America who have said, "We are willing to modify our civil service standards in order to get these kinds of youngsters on our police forces." I think you all know that traditionally the poor have gotten the poorest police protection as well as the poorest housing, the poorest justice. So that what we are going to do in this revolutionary and pioneering program is take young men out of the ghetto, young men who are known, young men who are respected; and when they come back nine months later with a police uniform on and an average salary of $7,000 to $8,000 a year to start, they won't be viewed as "the fuzz." And I think this is one of the most significant people-police relationship changes that has taken place in this country.

I can remember a colloquy that took place on the 21st of August, 1965. It was a colloquy between a predecessor of mine, the first Director of the Job Corps, a very distinguished gentleman indeed, Dr. Otis Singleterry, and the late John Fogarty, who was then chairman of the subcommittee that heard OEO appropriation hearings. John Fogarty, as I think all of you know, was a great champion of this program; and his untimely death was a great blow, not only to us, but to the country as a whole.

And I can remember a discussion they had on that 21st day of August, and that discussion went something like this:

"Dr. Singleterry, are you training any youngsters in the building trades?"

"Yes, Mr. Fogarty, we are, in our conservation centers."

"Well, let me tell you something, Dr. Singleterry. You're sky-building, because you'll never get those youngsters into an apprentice-training program, and you'll never get them into the union."

Next Monday morning at 9:30, I met with the president and two senior vice-presidents of the International Union of Carpenters and Joiners, to sign an agreement whereby they will train in the next year at thirteen Job Corps Centers 700 Job Corps enrollees, without regard to whether they're black or white or Mexican-American, or American Indian, and they'll not only train them, they will move them from there into union-sponsored apprentice-training programs and will guarantee them jobs and a ticket in the union.

That's changing the face of America.

Now, how can you help? You as individuals and you as an organization representative—how can you help in this work that is truly changing the face of America? Let me tell you that we in the Job Corps have a lot to give, not only in times of disaster, not only when your town has been hit by a tornado, but we have a lot to give when you have your next meeting. Our young ladies—any one of them sitting here, or any one of the 10,000 of them across the land in our 18 Job Corps Centers—you would be pleased to have them as hostesses. You would be honored to have them as hostesses, because they would do credit to us and to you.

One of the things that the Job Corps is doing—and we have a very distinguished lady with us this morning, Dr. Zelma George, who is in charge of the Cleveland Center—one of the things that she always talks about, is training in citizenship. I'm sure that the League of Women Voters is at this meeting, or is represented here. It would be marvelous, for instance, if the League of Women Voters could go to the Job Corps Center at Cleveland and bring a voting machine the next time we have a student government election out there, and maybe send two or three people out two weeks in advance to organize the campaign of the various contenders. This is an election year, and elections are very much a part of the American scene; they're very important to the democratic process and the survival of democracy. I think it would be great if the League of Women Voters in Cleveland sent two bright, interesting people out there with a voting machine, helped the contenders start their campaigns, helped them write speeches, helped them reproduce the literature that they're going to pass and attempt to get elected—I think that would be the kind of thing that would be very important in this training for citizenship.

I think that each one of you as individuals has an important role to play, and you can do it in a whole host of ways. Your church groups can invite Job Corps to come and spend the weekend with you in your homes. That's done here in Washington. There have been over a thousand youngsters from Camp Kilmer who have participated in that program.

You can talk to your husband. You can get him involved with JACS. I'm sure you all know what JACS is—Joint Action for Community Service. It's the male counterpart of WICS. If he's a boss you can get him to hire Job Corps trainees that return. If he knows the boss or the personnel officer, he can do that. If he's got a hobby, or you've got a hobby, you can go to Job Corps Centers and get them involved in that hobby.

And let me tell you, you'll learn something. It's a two-way street. The Job Corps can do an awful lot in disabusing people—all of us have certain notions—but the Job Corps can do an awful lot of disabusing us of those notions, in helping us to become more mature, better-rounded, more personable, more human people.

MR. THEODORE BERRY, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

We who have been close to the operation of the Community Action program are greatly gratified and are inspired by the progress that has been made in the three and a half years that we have been in operation. Essentially the Community Action Program in the War on Poverty is still a hometown fight. And the need for your continued involvement as citizens in your local community is vastly important. It is still one of the most important assets that we can garner from the constituency of the communities and of the people to be served by this program.

The young ladies who have come here to bear witness to the effectiveness of Job Corps are just a small part of what witness-bearing can be generated in every community throughout the nation in which Community Action has been established—over a thousand communities in this country. I was in Phoenix not too long ago and there was a similar type of experience in which the people who have actually been touched by these programs arose to bear witness and to testify what it meant to them; what growth had taken place in their own personalities as well as in their sense of community and in their involvement in carrying on this whole concept of self-help and community mobilization to remove the blight of poverty in our nation.

Much has been written, but much is yet to be done. The role of women in our effort has been tremendous, but the end is not yet in sight. We have, through our management information system, begun to gather hard statistical data which indicates the impact of this program upon the people it's intended to serve, as well as the citizens in the communities themselves.

Of the thousand Community Action Agencies, over two-thirds of those who are serving as professional and sub-professional workers are women. Of the 50,000 volunteers that are participating in the programs at the community level, three-fourths of them are women volunteers. Of the two million participants that we have touched, not by duplicate count but by individuals, over 60 percent of them are women, and a large portion of them are women heads of families.

So that the role of the women in the War on Poverty is tremendous. And we welcome the interest and the activity of the Advisory Council and these consultations. But I would hasten to warn, and to urge, that coming to Washington for a convocation like this is not the end-product of your interest, or should not be the end-product of your interest or your participation in this effort.

There are one or two problem areas and areas of concern which will require continuing concern of the citizens at the community level. And I would parenthetically observe that I hope that Congresswoman Green has attended some of these sessions and I wished that she might be here today to hear the testimony of these young women from the Job Corps, because the Job Corps has been one of the targets of her criticism.

Another aspect of it, of course, is the effect of the Green Amendment on Community Action. But I am happy to say to you that with the alternatives, the options that have been generated by the Green Amendment to the various Community Action agencies in communities and the political subdivisions and political officials, that 78 percent of the political subdivisions in which Community Action Agencies have been established have indicated their intention to designate the existing Community Action Agency as the continuing body to conduct, to plan, to coordinate and to implement the Community Action effort at that community level.

It is in that 22 percent where there may be generated another wave of accommodation or adjustment to whatever kind of mechanism will be employed. And therefore, I would strongly urge, as you return to your communities—if you are in communities that are going to make a change—that you continue your active, informed interest in helping to prevail upon the political decision-makers, that in the establishment of an administering board to a politically —or political subdivision Community Action Agency, that there be a meaningful and adequate delegation of powers from the political subdivision to the administering board. It may be able then to function and not operate as a crippled or facade agency which will invite suspicion, doubt, and inevitably provoke conflict and controversy at the community level. There is written into the law a clear mandate further extending the concept of maximum feasible participation of those to be served by the program. And we are now engaged in defining and establishing guidelines that will more clearly enunciate the minimum requirements and will result in establishing effective procedures by which the poor and area residents will be enabled to influence the character of programs affecting their interests.

Maximum feasible participation of the poor was in the beginning a highly volatile and controversial subject in communities attempting to accommodate themselves or to understand what it meant. But it has now become almost an accepted fact although still growing in its interpretation and in its meaning. But it has been extended and accepted in principle and will be extended more in practice by other agencies—HEW, LABOR, HUD, and the development of Model Cities programs, the pilot Neighborhood Service Centers, and Parent-Child Centers, and in a number of programs of other agencies. So that we would ask you—importune you, if you will—to continue your interest in interpreting participation of the residents and poor in the programs of the community, and participating in the decision-making process as well as in developing the program.

Ladies, I want to say on behalf of the Community Action Program, for all those who have worked in it, and particularly I speak for the regional directors who are here, I invite your full participation in supporting the regional offices of OEO in the seven regions in which they have been established, in carrying out their work of servicing the Community Action agencies in your several communities. We need you. We want your help, and we continue to invite your participation at all levels of our activities, and particularly in the local communities in which this war is still waged, albeit with limited ammunition.

PADRAIC KENNEDY, DIRECTOR, VISTA

I'd like to talk for a few minutes about what's new in VISTA.—In a way, that's difficult to do because there's so much that is new in VISTA now, and there's so much exciting that's going on.

You already know, I'm sure, that by the end of June there will be 6500 VISTA volunteers and VISTA associates. They'll be working in every state in the country with the exception of Mississippi. They'll be working in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Samoa.

The volunteers range in age from 18 to 85. You also are more aware than I am, I'm sure, that the pendulum of concern in this country is changing. In the early 1960's we were concerned with Africa, Asia, and Latin America; and now it's swinging back here to the problems of Appalachia and of Hough and of Harlem and of the Indians and the migrants. We thought that was true. We just assumed it was true. But we thought maybe we were a little too close to the problem and that maybe we were a little bit biased in our view that VISTA was becoming more relevant than the Peace Corps.

So we asked George Gallup, the pollster, if he'd go all around the country and do a Gallup poll to see what the people of the country thought. We thought we'd probably get about as large a return as Harold Stassen usually does. But it was interesting. When he came back, he reported that men and women around the country, when asked whether they'd rather have their son serve in VISTA or the Peace Corps, they voted for VISTA by a margin of two to one over the Peace Corps. And another indication that we had that this was true was that just last month, for example, the number of people applying for VISTA, to be VISTA volunteers, increased by 130 percent, over the same month last year.

So I think that this is a good sign that Americans are beginning to focus on the problems here at home. Now, what I'd like to talk about are three things that are happening in VISTA, three things that we're working on right now. First of all, we're trying to revolutionize the whole concept of volunteerism.

Traditionally in this country people have thought that volunteerism was a white middle-class prerogative, that leadership belonged with the white middle class. When I was with the Peace Corps, 96 percent of the volunteers in the Peace Corps were recent college graduates, middle class, and overwhelmingly white. In VISTA when we started out, that was our story too; but we are consciously and aggressively trying to broaden the whole concept of volunteerism, right now.

And the way we're doing it is we're trying to recruit volunteers from the ranks of the poor. People who may not have a high school degree, people who may be poor economically but who have tremendous leadership ability to give to the people in their own community. Now, I'd just like to cite a few examples. In Puerto Rico, for example, we have a program down there which we call VISPR, Volunteers In Service To Puerto Rico. There are 300 volunteers down there, all of them recruited from the Barrios and the pampas of Puerto Rico, working in their own communities, developing leadership in their communities, and developing programs in their own communities.

We're developing programs all along the Southwest region now, where we're recruiting Mexican-Americans to work right in their own communities. Two hundred of them will be working as VISTA volunteers this summer. On the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Montana, for example, right now, 30 Blackfeet Indians, may of them high school graduates, some of them college people, are working as VISTA associates, and they're working in educational programs like a ladder, where they're reaching down and helping the kids below them in tutorial and also basic education programs.

In ghetto communities all across the country, we are recruiting hundreds and hundreds of black residents of these ghettos who are poor but who have real leadership ability, and they're joining VISTA as VISTA volunteers.

This summer, for example, we're going to have 1600 summer volunteers in VISTA. Twelve hundred of them will be from target communities.

Well, the second thing that's new in VISTA that I'd like to talk about also, has to do with volunteers. Several months ago we made the decision that we wanted to get more skilled people into VISTA—I don't just mean college graduates. I mean people with technical skills, like lawyers and doctors, architects and community planners. So we set about developing projects that would utilize their skills in service to the poor. And then we started recruiting for them.

In the last three months alone, 300 lawyers have sent in their applications to join VISTA, to work in projects like the one we have in Chicago and Detroit, which is sponsored by the American Bar Association. Law school graduates from Harvard and Yale and Columbia and Chicago, Berkeley and so on, are living and working in ghetto communities, providing their technical resources to organizations of the poor. Here in Washington, D. C., George Washington University and the legal service program are going to be sponsoring 25 lawyers who will live out in the poverty communities of Washington. They'll serve for 18 months and once a week for six hours a week, they'll go to GW Law School, and GW is going to teach a course they've never taught before—the Law of the Poor, welfare law, public housing law, social security law, consumer rights, and things like that. And at the end of the 18 months the volunteers will also get a master's degree in law. We have another program like that at NYU.

We have programs this summer involving architects, involving medical students, doctors, nurses, dentists, who will be working and living in poverty communities serving the poor.

The third thing I'll talk about very briefly, is the VISTA citizens corps. To be effective, a VISTA volunteer has got to multiply his resources, not just himself in the community. He's got to involve scores of the people in that community in the problems of that community. To cite an example, Jim Hall was a VISTA volunteer working in Boca Raton, Florida, was working and living in a migrant camp there. And he knew that he couldn't do enough for the people in that camp, particularly the children in the camp. So he went over to Florida Atlantic University, and he went over to Marymount College, and he recruited 200 students to come over and to work every week on a one-to-one basis with the children in the migrant camps there.

We're trying to do this in community after community all across the country. But the point that I would like to make, and I would hope we could discuss later in the day, is that if we're really going to be successful and get thousands and hundreds of thousands of people involved, it's going to take the help and the active planning between VISTA and organizations such as the ones that many of you represent here today. So that we'd like very much during the course of the day to figure out how, together, we could mobilize men and women by the thousands to work in the War on Poverty.

"We have talked, we have seen, and we have heard. Now what are we going to do?

"We want to leave this Conference with a sense of what we want to do, as organizations and as individuals at the community or state level.

"We have chosen as the document to study and act upon the Report of the President's Advosory Commission on Civil Disorders, and we know that there are twin evils—racism and poverty. These two factors are now in sharp focus. Those fighting for Civil Rights soon found that it does little good to have the right to ride at the front of the bus if you don't have the fare. One must have an economic position from which to act.

"We are meeting at a time when poor people are on a march. But all of us here are marching—to whatever tune we hear. The question is not what we think of other people's marches, but rather we must ask ourselves what have we heard, what message has come through to us.

"So give us your ideas for action. Don't look just for something new, but for new insight, new understanding, new ways of looking at old problems."

Miss Dorothy Height, Workshop Leader

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION — DISCUSSION FROM THE FLOOR

Dorothy Height, Moderator

Some would say the proposals that arose out of the discussions which followed were generalities. Some would have called them philosophical. But running through the discussion was one clear note—the recognition by the delegates of their own responsibility in events, and that they must change themselves before they can hope to change the mind of Congress, before they can change the face of poverty.

" 'We have met the enemy and they are we' ", quoted Dorothy Height. The sense of shock, the need for introspection by the delegation brought out by two days of dialogue and the sight of Ressurection City, might be adjudged of greater worth than the most ambitious program proposal could have been. The time for "finger in the dike" programming is past, one delegate noted, and in response to the suggestion that the meeting adjourn and march on Capitol Hill, another pointed out that they have been able to accomplish very little themselves at home. How, then, does one presume to come to Washington and tell people what to do?

"Go back home and clean up poverty in your own community." This was the theme that emerged. These are some of the concrete proposals offered:

PROPOSAL:	Appoint an emergency strategy committee to find ways of supporting the goals of the Poor People's Campaign.
RESPONSE:	The Women's Advisory Council on Poverty serves as the Strategy ·Committee. And this Conference is called to find ways of meeting common goals in the war on poverty. The Council looks to the delegates and to the organizations they represent for action. The responsibility therefore rests with the delegates and their organizations for recommending and initiating action. The Council will assist and advise on implementing action.
PROPOSAL:	Take a look at existing programs —Head Start, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, etc. Are they doing a good job in your community: Are the people em-

ployed in these programs doing the job? If not, use your influence to get rid of them.

PROPOSAL: Go back home and use the public media—press, radio, TV to get the message of what you have seen and what you feel to the public — to your Mayors, your Governors, your Congressmen, the people of your community.

PROPOSAL: Agencies should work together. An example of how to do this: there are over 300 Chapters of Women in Community Service. Agencies are invited to contact their local WICS and join with them in whatever community service is needed.

PROPOSAL: Every organization has people who make things happen, people who watch things happen, and people who don't know what is happening. Be a person who makes things happen.

PROPOSAL: Examine your organizations. Does it need to change to meet today's crisis? If so, bring about this change. Rewrite organization's Statement of Purpose!

PROPOSAL: Use the power of your vote to put the right people in office. Encourage Negroes to register and vote. In the last election, only 67% of the people of the country voted. Make your vote count: Get out and work at the precinct level.

PROPOSAL: Include and use young people in your action plans. They want to be involved—they are looking for a purpose.

PROPOSAL: Remember that a response from Congress is the goal of the Poor People's Campaign. But Congress will not act until it has a mandate from the people. See your Congressman, and let him know what you want him to do.

PROPOSAL: Make contact with people and organizations at home. Hold a Conference like this one at home to face issues at home.

PROPOSAL: You say you are committed. Then get involved. Talk, write, work.

PROPOSAL: Women's organizations within a community should exchange information about their program activities, and form coalitions to work together.

Summing Up . . . . . by Dorothy Height

"It seems to me that all the way through this discussion we have been reinforcing one another in the realization that there is in this Capital at this moment a demonstration of people who have put themselves in motion in order to dramatize the realities of poverty and deprivation. A part of the crisis of our time is the fact that so drastic a step as this had to be necessary for us to realize what poverty and suffering mean in the lives of people.

"All through this discussion we have said the Congress needs to be moved. And here and there we have put our fingers on specific Representatives in the Congress who are simply reflecting what must be the climate in the Congress for their actions, which in a sense, deny the very goals that the Poor People's Campaign, that this Women's Conference on Poverty—all of our efforts through the poverty program are directed to alleviate. As we have been talking, there have been some moments when we have had to say to ourselves "now we're getting emotional." Or, "now we're sensing our guilt." But we've been reminded at different times by others who have said "We need this in order to have what it will take to move us from where we are."

And I think there's been a kind of recognition all the way through this discussion that the question is not put to someone else. The question is put to each of us. "What shall I do?" There have been moments in our discussion when it seemed as though we thought someone else would have an action program to dispense to us and so we've said "we're talking and talking but we're not acting." And then there were other moments when we have recognized that if someone had brought us an action program, we would have said, "The time for bringing people programs is over. People want to act for themselves."

And I had a feeling that the predominantly middle-class experience that we may have contributes to this little bit of ambivalence. But no one of us in this room is ever going to be quite the same. Because we spent last night going deep into the problem of racism, as it is described here. For some of us even the definition of the word had to be made clear. And one of the reflections of the condition of our society is that after a major National Commission brings forth the report, there are those who still ask "What do you mean by racism? Who is a racist? Not I! What do you mean, poverty? Who is poor?" Not over *here!*" Some of us have the great problem of no problem. In fact it may be the most serious problem. But I think for us who have been in this conference, poverty and racism will no longer be words. They will be something with which we have to deal.

"We have examined the programs that have been set forth and as we've talked this afternoon, words have come through like "We have to change—the group of which we are members —and we have to change ourselves." I hope that underneath all of this is the realization that these attitudes we talk about changing will not change unless we can create the conditions in our society in which people begin to behave toward one another with justice and equality, and in the behaving learn something about different kinds of attitudes. We are talking about the patterns of staffing in our organizations and in our own leadership. And every once in a while when we begin to move away, there is a voice of someone who would say "I'm speaking as a poor person." I think it is very interesting that if any one of us could have looked at this group and then could have drawn a diagram, we would have gotten a sense of the way in which we're all in the same situation. Because you could not tell until someone said, "I am poor."

And the constant repetition that, "I was in Ressurection City," pretty soon got to be something that made us say "We don't need a Ressurection City." We *didn't* need this, but it seemed to us that having this experience at this time should mean that we all go back and examine the methods that we are using and the goals that we have set and that we reconstruct our determination to deal with poverty.

And one young voice kept saying in the discussion, "I have decided to involve myself." And I think *this* is what we're talking about. How have we determined to involve ourselves?

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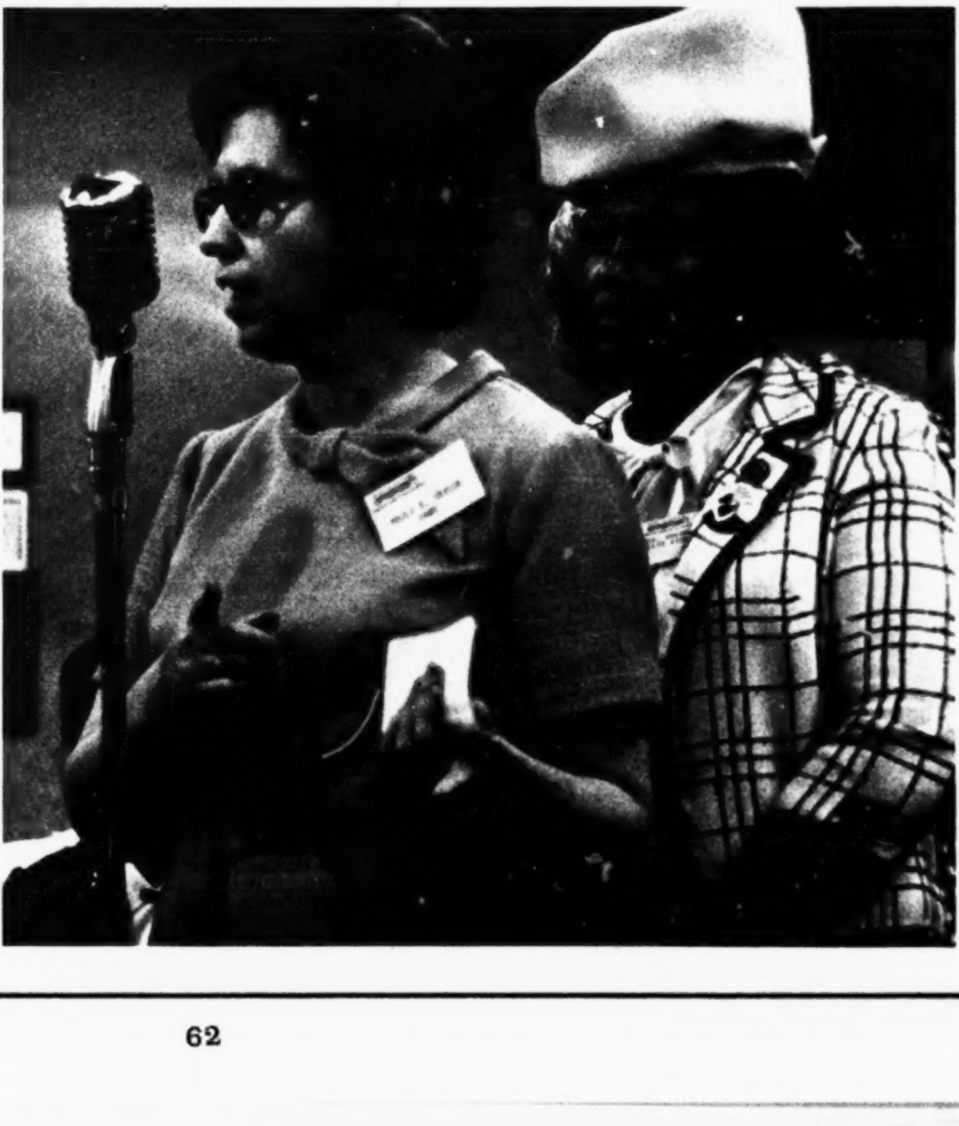

Delegates line up to speak at "Proposals for Action" session.